MARIE ANTOINETTE

NEW STANDARD EDITION

THE WORLD'S GREAT EVENTS

AN INDEXED HISTORY OF THE WORLD FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

GREAT HISTORIANS

EDITED BY

ESTHER SINGLETON

EDITOR OF "THE STORY OF THE UNIVERSE," "TURRETS, TOWERS AND TEMPLES," "ROMANTIC CASTLES AND PALACES," "WONDERS OF NATURE," ETC.

ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME SIX

FROM A.D. 1776 TO A.D. 1848

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From an old painting

THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW

From the painting by Meissonier

NAPOLEON'S CUIRASSIERS AT WATERLOO

From the painting by Berkley

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

(A.D. 1776)

JAMES SCHOULER

The *Magna Charta* of the New World.

WE are to regard the Declaration of Independence as the *Magna Charta* of this New World. Yet it is not from this instrument that the American Union derives its being. In declaring a dissolution of their political connection with Great Britain, the several Colonies theoretically resolved themselves into free and independent States. But union was well understood to accompany independence so as to make it secure; and the preparation of some suitable plan of confederation had been one of the subjects for reference in the famous Lee resolves. Yet men who have resolved to unite divide when it comes to arranging the actual details of union. Articles of Confederation were reported from the committee July 12, 1776; but Congress withheld its sanction till near the close of 1777, when in an amended form the plan went to the States for their separate adoption. As these Articles could not take effect until all of the thirteen had rati-

Articles of Confederation.

fied, and something appeared in the plan obnoxious to each one, it is not strange that several more years were wasted in discussion. The United States of America had no existence as a government under a fundamental compact until the spring of 1781, by which time the success of the patriot arms was hardly doubtful. The Union, indeed, had its flag before a fundamental charter, and its army a commander before a flag.

Their authorship.

The first draft of the Declaration of Independence and the desk upon which it was composed are religiously preserved. We know how and by whom every joist and rafter was set into our later Constitution. But how the Articles of Confederation were prepared, few ask and none can positively answer; nor has any one claimed to be their author. Its draft, to be sure, was made out by Dickinson, who was prominent in the committee; but much of that committee work must have been cut to order. As a framework of government this plan was no better than a makeshift; an effort to pare off slices of State sovereignty without diminishing the loaf; to circumscribe circumscription; to set centralism in motion with one hand and stop it with the other. That such a union could be, as the scheme professed, perpetual, was impossible.

Federal authority.

Under these Articles, as independently of them, the sole functions of Federal authority vested in a Continental Congress, consisting

of a single house of delegates, who voted by States, and were annually appointed in such manner as their respective States might direct, receiving their stipend from the State treasury. In such a legislature, which a split Senate of the present day might resemble, the American people found no direct representation. A president of Congress was designated, chiefly for ceremonial duties; while executive functions were administered to some extent by a Committee of States, empowered to sit during the recess. In ordinary course, seven out of thirteen States might thus have directed affairs; but in order to prevent this it was expressly forbidden the United States to engage in war, make treaties, coin money, borrow or appropriate, assign quotas, or even appoint a commander-in-chief of the army, except upon the assent of nine States. This provision, framed in the interest of a minority, might seem like taking the crutches from a lame man.

General authority.

The general authority thus conferred upon the United States embraced the concerns of peace and war, foreign intercourse, inclusive of the power to make treaties, the regulations of coins, weights and measures, Indian affairs, and the general post-office.

Congress, responsible for the common debt already incurred, might borrow money and emit bills of credit. Extradition and mutual intercourse to much the same extent as under

the ancient New England confederacy were benefits promised the several States by this plan of union. And with the general powers conferred upon Congress they were forbidden to interfere; while at the same time these Articles emphatically reserved to the several confederated States all the powers not expressly delegated.

Fatal defects.

In such a scheme of Federal union might be pointed out fatal defects. (1.) The want of sanction, or some compulsory means of enforcing obedience. This charter provided neither executive nor judiciary worth mentioning, and no means whatever of securing the steady operation of the provisions which were most vital to the general welfare. A single member of the confederacy might defy or disregard a constitutional decree of Congress; in which case there was no resort, should persuasion prove futile, but to draw the sword and proclaim civil war. That it might by mere negligence fail to supply its quota of men or money was a necessary and a mischievous consequence. In theory each State would with alacrity fulfil its solemn obligation, else, to punish its stubbornness, all the others would rally to the side of Congress. But in practice, as will presently be shown, the example of State disobedience became contagious, and led rather to a general dereliction of duty instead. (2.) Operation of the fundamental law, in general, not upon citizens and

State disobedience.

individuals, but upon States or people in the mass. (3.) The large vote requisite in Congress for the passage of all important general measures. Five States could thus lawfully obstruct legislation essential to the interests of the Union, in utter contempt of the wishes of the other eight and of a manifest public necessity. (4.) The absence of a right to regulate foreign commerce and make duties uniform, as well as to collect those duties. (5.) A virtual omission of all power to alter or amend existing Articles. The power to alter is the safety-valve of every political constitution; since law only scoops the channel for advancing society to run in. Alteration was possible, as these Articles read, if the proposed amendment should be first agreed to in Congress, and afterward confirmed by the legislature of every State. But if, as might likely happen, the interests of a single commonwealth stood in the way of the general change, how was amendment possible? Feeble as was the present league, could two-thirds or even twelve-thirteenths of the States have given validity to one or two new articles, the Convention of 1787 would never have met which framed a new Constitution. Nothing saved America from utter perdition, under the so-called perpetual league, but a *coup de main*. Happily the revolution which superseded the old Articles had the popular sanction and was bloodless; it is to the lasting glory of our

Power to alter.

people that this alternative was fairly forced upon them before they accepted it.

Division of sentiment.

While these Articles of Confederation were pending, and even earlier, a strong division of sentiment became manifest between the large and small States. Populous and wealthy colonies by comparison, like Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, might well have shrunk from an alliance, on terms which sunk them to the same level of representation as Delaware, Georgia, and Rhode Island. History shows, nevertheless, that in a controversy begun before Bunker's Hill was fought, it was the larger States that courted, while the smaller ones were coy. Representation on a popular basis the small States refused from the first to permit; their sister commonwealths, they said, would be influential enough in the general council without it; all were fighting for existence, and what would independence of the King avail themselves if they were to forsake one tyranny for another? Thus was gained one concession from the large States. Another, but of positive and permanent advantage to the Union, Maryland procured, namely: a relinquishment for the common benefit of all State claims to Western territory. Maryland refused to accede to the proposed confederacy until this by 1781 was accomplished.

Concessions by the large States.

This era of Federal construction was likewise an era of local reconstruction. Each

Colony, acting upon the monition of Congress, had in 1776 adapted itself to the new condition of free and independent States. Colonial charters suggested the idea of a written constitution; and indeed for many years longer Rhode Island and Connecticut continued each to use the royal document as the sole fundamental law. Some State constitutions, hastily prepared, proved very faulty; but that of Massachusetts, the best matured of them, has, with occasional amendment, served the State more than a full century. All were republican in form, but none strictly democratic. In fairly separating the executive, legislative, and judicial departments, and erecting a legislature which consisted of two houses, these local constitutions set a pattern in various respects which the United States was yet to follow. Human equality and the government by common consent they generally recognized in express terms. So engrossing had become this work during the last years of the war as to provoke complaint that the men who ought to be saving America were at home serving their own States.

State constitutions.

SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE AT SARATOGA

(A.D. 1777)

E. S. CREASY.

Significance of Burgoyne's defeat.

THE war which rent away the North American colonies from England is, of all subjects in history, the most painful for an Englishman to dwell on. It was commenced and carried on by the British ministry in iniquity and folly, and it was concluded in disaster and shame. Nor can any military event be said to have exercised more important influence on the future fortunes of mankind than the complete defeat of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777; a defeat which rescued the revolted colonists from certain subjection, and which, by inducing the courts of France and Spain to attack England in their behalf, ensured the independence of the United States, and the formation of that transatlantic power which not only America, but both Europe and Asia now see and feel.

The English had a considerable force in Canada, and in 1776 had completely repulsed an attack which the Americans had made upon that province. The British ministry resolved to avail themselves, in the next year,

of the advantage which the occupation of Canada gave them, not merely for the purpose of defence, but for the purpose of striking a vigorous and crushing blow against the revolted colonies. With this view the army in Canada was largely reinforced. Seven thousand veteran troops were sent out from England, with a corps of artillery abundantly supplied and led by select and experienced officers. Large quantities of military stores were also furnished for the equipment of the Canadian volunteers, who were expected to join the expedition. It was intended that the force thus collected should march southward by the line of the lakes, and thence along the banks of the Hudson River. The British army from New York (or a large detachment of it) was to make a simultaneous movement northward, up the line of the Hudson, and the two expeditions were to unite at Albany. By these operations, all communication between the northern colonies and those of the centre and south would be cut off. An irresistible force would be concentrated, so as to crush all further opposition in New England: and when this was done, it was believed that the other colonies would speedily submit. The Americans had no troops in the field that seemed able to baffle these movements. Their principal army, under Washington, was occupied in watching over Pennsylvania and the South. At any rate, it was believed that, in order to

Reinforcement of the British army.

Simultaneous movements.

oppose the plan intended for the new campaign, the insurgents must risk a pitched battle, in which the superiority of the Royalists, in numbers, in discipline, and in equipment, seemed to promise to the latter a crowning victory. Without question, the plan was ably formed; and had the success of the execution been equal to the ingenuity of the design, the reconquest or submission of the thirteen united States must in all human probability have followed, and the independence which they proclaimed in 1776 would have been extinguished before it had existed a second year.

Plan of the British.

No European power had as yet come forward to aid America. It is true that England was generally regarded with jealousy and ill will, and was thought to have acquired, at the Treaty of Paris, a preponderance of dominion which was perilous to the balance of power; but, though many were willing to wound, none had yet ventured to strike; and America, if defeated in 1777, would have been suffered to fall unaided.

England's unpopularity abroad.

Burgoyne assembled his troops and confederates near the river Bonquet, on the west side of Lake Champlain. He then, on the 21st of June, 1777, gave his red allies a war feast, and harangued them on the necessity of abstaining from their usual cruel practices against unarmed people and prisoners. At the same time, he published a pompous manifesto to the Americans, in which he threat-

Burgoyne's manifesto.

ened the refractory with all the horrors of war, Indian as well as European. The army proceeded by water to Crown Point, a fortification which the Americans held at the northern extremity of the inlet by which the water from Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain. He landed here without opposition; but the reduction of Ticonderoga, a fortification about twelve miles from Crown Point, was a more serious matter, and was supposed to be the most critical part of the expedition. Ticonderoga commanded the passage along the lakes, and was considered to be the key to the route which Burgoyne wished to follow. The English had been repulsed in an attack on it in the war with the French in 1758 with severe loss. But Burgoyne now invested it with great skill; and the American general, St. Clair, who had only an ill-equipped army of 3,000 men, evacuated it on the 5th of July. Burgoyne's troops pursued the retiring Americans, gained several advantages over them, and took a large part of their artillery and military stores.

Capture of Ticonderoga.

The loss of the British in these engagements was trifling. The army moved southward along Lake George to Skenesborough, and thence to Fort Edward, on the Hudson River, the American troops continuing to retire before them.

The British advance.

Burgoyne reached the left bank of the Hudson River on the 30th of July. Hitherto he

had overcome every difficulty which the enemy and the nature of the country had placed in his way. His army was in excellent order, and in the highest spirits, and the peril of the expedition seemed over when once on the bank of the river which was to be the channel of communication between them and the British army in the south.

Firmness of the colonists.

The astonishment and alarm which these events produced among the Americans were naturally great; but in the midst of their disasters, none of the colonists showed any disposition to submit. The local governments of the New England States, as well as the Congress, acted with vigor and firmness in their efforts to repel the enemy. General Gates was

Gates sent to command the Americans.

sent to take the command of the army at Saratoga; and Arnold was despatched by Washington to act under him, with reinforcements of troops and guns from the main American army. Burgoyne's employment of the Indians now produced the worst possible effects. Though he labored hard to check the atrocities which they were accustomed to commit, he could not prevent the occurrence of many barbarous outrages, repugnant both to the feelings of humanity and to the laws of civilized warfare. The American commanders took

Indian atrocities.

care that the reports of these excesses should be circulated far and wide, well knowing that they would make the stern New Englanders not droop, but rage. Such was their effect.

Every man saw the necessity of becoming a temporary soldier, not only for his own security, but for the protection and defence of those connections which are dearer than life itself. Thus an army was poured forth by the woods, mountains, and marshes, which in this part were thickly sown with plantations and villages.

American recruits.

While resolute recruits were thus flocking to the standard of Gates and Arnold at Saratoga and while Burgoyne was engaged at Fort Edward in providing the means for the further advance of his army, two events occurred, in each of which the British sustained loss and the Americans obtained advantage, the moral effects of which were even more important than the immediate result of the encounters. When Burgoyne left Canada, General St. Leger was detached from that province with a mixed force of about 1,000 men and some light field-pieces across Lake Ontario against Fort Stanwix, which the Americans held. After capturing this, he was to march along the Mohawk River to its confluence with the Hudson, between Saratoga and Albany, where his force and that of Burgoyne were to unite. But, after some successes, St. Leger was obliged to retreat, and to abandon his tents and large quantities of stores to the enemy. At the very time that General Burgoyne heard of this disaster, he experienced one still more severe in the defeat

The British are checked

of Colonel Baum, with a large detachment of German troops, at Bennington, whither Burgoyne had sent them for the purpose of capturing some magazines of provisions, of which the British army stood greatly in need.

Burgoyne arrives at Saratoga.

Notwithstanding these reverses, which added greatly to the spirit and numbers of the American forces, Burgoyne determined to advance. Having, by unremitting exertions, collected provisions for thirty days, he crossed the Hudson by means of a bridge of rafts, and, marching a short distance along its western bank, he encamped on the 14th of September on the heights of Saratoga. The Americans had fallen back from Saratoga, and were now strongly posted near Stillwater, about half-way between Saratoga and Albany, and showed a determination to recede no further.

Clinton sails to join Burgoyne.

Meanwhile Lord Howe, with the bulk of the British army that had lain at New York, had sailed away to the Delaware, and there commenced a campaign against Washington, in which the English general took Philadelphia, and gained other showy but unprofitable successes. But Sir Henry Clinton, a brave and skilful officer, was left with a considerable force at New York, and he undertook the task of moving up the Hudson to co-operate with Burgoyne. Clinton was obliged for this purpose to wait for reinforcements which had been promised from England, and these did

not arrive till September. As soon as he received them, Clinton embarked about 3,000 of his men on a flotilla, convoyed by some ships of war under Commander Hotham, and proceeded to force his way up the river.

Indecisive encounter.

The country between Burgoyne's position at Saratoga and that of the Americans at Stillwater was rugged, and seamed with creeks and water-courses; but, after great labor in making bridges and temporary causeways, the British army moved forward. About four miles from Saratoga, on the afternoon of the 19th of September, a sharp encounter took place between part of the English right wing, under Burgoyne himself, and a strong body of the enemy, under Gates and Arnold. The conflict lasted till sunset. The British remained masters of the field; but the loss on each side was nearly equal (from five hundred to six hundred men); and the spirits of the Americans were greatly raised by having withstood the best regular troops of the English army. Burgoyne now halted again, and strengthened his position by field-works and redoubts; and the Americans also improved their defences. The two armies remained nearly within cannon-shot of each other for a considerable time, during which Burgoyne was anxiously looking for intelligence of the promised expedition from New York. At last a messenger brought the information that Clinton was on his way up the Hudson to at-

Defensive works.

tack the American forts which barred the passage to Albany. Burgoyne, in reply, stated that unless he received assistance before the 10th of October, he would be obliged to retreat to the lakes through want of provisions.

Desertions from the British.

The Indians and the Canadians now began to desert Burgoyne, while, on the other hand, Gates's army was continually reinforced by fresh bodies of the militia. And finding the number and spirit of the enemy to increase daily and his own stores of provisions to diminish, Burgoyne determined on attacking the Americans in front of him, and, by dislodging them from their position, to gain the means of moving upon Albany, or, at least, of relieving his troops from the straitened position in which they were cooped up.

Opposing forces.

Burgoyne's force was now reduced to less than 6,000 men. The right of his camp was on some high ground a little to the west of the river: thence his intrenchments extended along the lower ground to the bank of the Hudson, their line being nearly at a right angle with the course of the stream. The lines were fortified in the centre and the left with redoubts and field-works. The numerical force of the Americans was now greater than the British, even in regular troops, and the numbers of the militia and volunteers which had joined Gates and Arnold were greater still. The right of the American position, that is to say, the part of it nearest to the

river, was too strong to be assailed with any prospect of success, and Burgoyne therefore determined to endeavor to force their left. For this purpose he formed a column of 1,500 regular troops, with two twelve-pounders, two howitzers, and six six-pounders. The enemy's force immediately in front of his lines was so strong that he dared not weaken the troops who guarded them by detaching any more to strengthen his column of attack.

Burgoyne advances.

Burgoyne pushed forward some bodies of irregular troops to distract the enemy's attention, and led his column to within three-quarters of a mile from the left of Gates's camp, and then deployed his men into line. The Grenadiers under Major Ackland were drawn up on the left, a corps of Germans in the centre, and the English Light Infantry and the 24th regiment on the right. But Gates did not wait to be attacked; and directly the British line was formed and began to advance, the American general, with admirable skill, caused a strong force to make a sudden and vehement rush against its left. The Grenadiers under Ackland sustained the charge of superior numbers nobly. But Gates sent more Americans forward, and in a few minutes the action became general along the centre, so as to prevent the Germans from sending any help to the Grenadiers. Burgoyne's right was not yet engaged; but a mass of the enemy were observed advancing from

Gates also advances.

their extreme left, with the evident intention of turning the British right, and cutting off its retreat. The Light Infantry and the 24th now fell back, and formed an oblique second line, which enabled them to baffle this manœuvre, and also to succor their comrades in the left wing, the gallant Grenadiers, who were overpowered by superior numbers, and, but for this aid, must have been cut to pieces. Arnold now came up with three American regiments, and attacked the right flank of the English double line. Burgoyne's whole force was soon compelled to retreat toward their camp; the left and centre were in complete disorder; but the Light Infantry and the 24th checked the fury of the assailants, and the remains of Burgoyne's column with great difficulty effected their return to their camp, leaving six of their guns in the possession of the enemy, and great numbers of killed and wounded on the field; and especially a large proportion of the artillerymen, who had stood to their guns until shot down or bayoneted beside them by the advancing Americans.

Burgoyne retreats.

Burgoyne's column had been defeated, but the action was not yet over. The English had scarcely entered the camp, when the Americans, pursuing their success, assaulted it in several places with uncommon fierceness, rushing to the lines through a severe fire of grape-shot and musketry with the utmost fury. Arnold especially, who on this day ap-

peared maddened with the thirst of combat and carnage, urged on the attack against a part of the intrenchments which was occupied by the Light Infantry under Lord Balcarras. But the English received him with vigor and spirit. The struggle here was obstinate and sanguinary. At length, as it grew toward evening, Arnold, having forced all obstacles, entered the works with some of the most fearless of his followers. But in this critical moment of glory and danger he received a painful wound in the same leg which had already been injured at the assault on Quebec. To his bitter regret, he was obliged to be carried back. His party still continued the attack; but the English also continued their obstinate resistance, and at last night fell, and the assailants withdrew from this quarter of the British intrenchments. But in another part the attack had been more successful. A body of the Americans, under Colonel Brooke, forced their way in through a part of the intrenchments on the extreme right, which was defended by the German reserve under Colonel Breyman. The Germans resisted well, and Breyman died in defence of his post; but the Americans made good the ground which they had won, and captured baggage, tents, artillery, and a store of ammunition, which they were greatly in need of. They had, by establishing themselves on this point, acquired the means of completely turning the right flank of

The assault on the camp

Arnold's gallantry.

Partial success.

the British, and gaining their rear. To prevent this calamity, Burgoyne effected during the night a complete change of position. With great skill, he removed his whole army to some heights near the river, a little northward of the former camp, and he there drew up his men, expecting to be attacked on the following day. But Gates was resolved not to risk the certain triumph which his success had already secured for him. He harassed the English with skirmishes, but attempted no regular attack. Meanwhile he detached bodies of troops on both sides of the Hudson to prevent the British from recrossing that river and to bar their retreat. When night fell, it became absolutely necessary for Burgoyne to retire again, and, accordingly, the troops were marched through a stormy and rainy night toward Saratoga, abandoning their sick and wounded, and the greater part of their baggage to the enemy.

Burgoyne retires.

Burgoyne now took up his last position on the heights near Saratoga; and, hemmed in by the enemy who refused an encounter, and baffled in all his attempts at finding a path of escape, he there lingered until famine compelled him to capitulate.

Famine compels capitulation.

At length the 13th of October arrived, and as no prospect of assistance appeared, and the provisions were nearly exhausted, Burgoyne, by the unanimous advice of a council of war, sent a messenger to the American camp to

treat of a convention. After various messages, a convention for the surrender of the army was settled, which provided that "the troops under General Burgoyne were to march out of their camp with honors of war, and the artillery out of the intrenchments, to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery were to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free passage was to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest."

Terms of surrender.

The articles of capitulation were settled on the 15th of October; and on that very evening a messenger arrived from Clinton with an account of his success, and with the tidings that part of his force had penetrated as far as Esopus, within fifty miles of Burgoyne's camp. But it was too late. The public faith was pledged; and the army was indeed too debilitated by fatigue and hunger to resist an attack, if made; and Gates certainly would have made it, if the convention had been broken off.

Losses of the British.

Accordingly, on the 17th, the Convention of Saratoga was carried into effect. By this convention 5,790 men surrendered themselves as prisoners. The sick and wounded left in the camp when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German, and Canadian troops who

were killed, wounded, or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be 4,689.

Joy of the Americans.

Gates, after the victory, immediately despatched Colonel Wilkinson to carry the happy tidings to Congress. On being introduced into the hall he said, "The whole British army has laid down its arms at Saratoga; our own, full of vigor and courage, expect your orders. It is for your wisdom to decide where the country may still have need of their services." Honors and rewards were liberally voted by the Congress to their conquering general and his men; and it would be difficult to describe the transports of joy which the news of this event excited among the Americans.

They began to flatter themselves with a still more happy future. No one any longer felt any doubt about their achieving their independence. All hoped, and with good reason, that a success of this importance would at length determine France, and the other European powers that waited for her example, to declare themselves in favor of America. "*There could no longer be any question respecting the future, since there was no longer the risk of espousing the cause of a people too feeble to defend themselves.*"

Conduct of France.

The truth of this was soon displayed in the conduct of France. When the news arrived at Paris of the capture of Ticonderoga, and

of the victorious march of Burgoyne toward Albany, events which seemed decisive in favor of the English, instructions had been immediately despatched to Nantz, and the other ports of the kingdom, that no American privateers should be suffered to enter them, except from indispensable necessity, as to repair their vessels, to obtain provisions, or to escape the perils of the sea. The American commissioners at Paris, in their disgust and despair, had almost broken off all negotiations with the French Government; and they even endeavored to open communications with the British ministry. But the British Government, elated with the first success of Burgoyne, refused to listen to any overtures for accommodation. But when the news of Saratoga reached Paris, the whole scene was changed. Franklin and his brother commissioners found all their difficulties with the French Government vanish. The time seemed to have arrived for the House of Bourbon to take full revenge for all its humiliations and losses in previous wars. In December a treaty was arranged and formally signed in the February following, by which France acknowledged *the Independent United States of America*. This was, of course, tantamount to a declaration of war with England. Spain soon followed France; and before long, Holland took the same course. Largely aided by French fleets and troops, the Americans vigo-

The news in Paris.

France, Spain, and Holland recognize the United States.

rously maintained the war against the armies which England, in spite of her European foes, continued to send across the Atlantic. But the struggle was too unequal to be maintained by this country for many years; and when the treaties of 1783 restored peace to the world, the independence of the United States was reluctantly recognized by their ancient parent and recent enemy, England.

Independence of the United States recognized by England.

[In 1777, Spain and Portugal settle their disputes in South America by the treaty of San Ildefonso; the Swiss Cantons make an alliance with Louis XVI. from dread of Austria's designs. In 1778, the Electorate of Bavaria ends by the death of the reigning prince; Spain signs the treaty of perpetual alliance with Portugal and acquires Fernando Po in the Gulf of Guinea. In 1779, France and Spain declare war against England and their fleets scour the Channel; the war of the Bavarian succession ends. In 1780, the Gordon Riots occur in London; the chapels of the Catholic ambassadors are sacked, and Newgate is burnt; Clinton and Cornwallis gain successes in South Carolina, and Arnold's treason is discovered and André is hanged; Rodney gains a great victory over the Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent; Russia attacks Turkey; Hyder Ali invades the Carnatic; the twelfth Earl of Derby institutes the "Blue Ribbon of the Turf." In 1781, Cornwallis

Andre hanged.

defeats Greene, fortifies Yorktown, but is blockaded by De Grasse and an American army; Neckar is dismissed from the French premiership and the period of reform ends; in India, Hyder Ali and French allies are defeated by Eyre Coote.] Neckar dismissed.

THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS AT YORKTOWN

(A.D. 1781)

CHARLES KNIGHT

THE Articles of Capitulation did not involve any degrading conditions. The garrisons of York and Gloucester were to march out to an appointed place, with shouldered arms, colors cased, and drums beating a British or German march; then to ground their arms, and return to the place of their encampment. The imagination might fill up a picture from this indistinct outline. But a very graphic representation of an extraordinary scene exists in the diary of an Anspach sergeant, who served in the British army. We necessarily take only the prominent points of a lengthened detail. On the afternoon of the 19th of October, all the troops marched on the road to Williamsburg, in platoons, through the whole American and French army, who were drawn up in regiments. In front of each regiment were their generals and staff-officers. The French generals were attended by richly dressed servants in liveries. Count de Rochambeau, Marquis

Description by an eye-witness.

Articles of Capitulation.

de Lafayette, Count de Deuxponts, and Prince de Lucerne were there, wearing glittering stars and badges. The French formed the right wing. The left wing of the line was formed of the Americans. In front were their generals, Washington, Gates, Steuben, and Wayne. They were paraded in three lines. The regulars, in front, looked passable; but the militia, from Virginia and Maryland, were ragged and ill-looking. The prisoners were quite astonished at the immense number of their besiegers, whose lines, three ranks deep, extended nearly two miles. They passed through this formidable army to a large plain, where a squadron of French hussars had formed a circle. One regiment after another had to pass into this circle, to lay down their muskets and other arms. The honest narrator says, "When our colonel, Baron Seybothen, had marched his men into the circle, he had us drawn up in a line, stepped in front of it, and commanded first, 'Present arms,' and then, 'Lay down arms—put off swords and cartridge-boxes,' while tears ran down his cheeks. Most of us were weeping like him." All the officers, English and German, were allowed to keep their swords. All marched back in utter silence to the camp. Their courage and their spirit were gone; "the more so," says the sergeant, "as in this our return march the American part of our conquerors jeered at us very insultingly."

French officers.

Laying down arms.

Upon their return to their lines and tents, they enjoyed full liberty. The French are described as behaving very well toward the conquered—altogether kind and obliging. Cornwallis, in his despatch, makes no complaint of the Americans, but he clearly draws a distinction that seems expressive of no very cordial feeling toward those of the same race with himself: "The treatment in general, that we have received from the enemy since our surrender has been perfectly good and proper; but the kindness and attention that has been shown to us by the French officers in particular—their delicate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offer of money, both public and private, to any amount—has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer whenever the fortune of war should put any of them into our power." The Abbé Robin noticed that there was a much deeper feeling of animosity between the English and Americans than between the English and French. As the English officers passed through the lines they saluted every French officer, but they showed no such courtesy to the American officers. There was no wisdom or equity in this unmerited contempt of men who were fighting for a far higher cause than their French allies. There was only a paltry display of military pride against irregulars, and a servile imita-

Cornwallis's tribute to the French.

Animosity between English and Americans.

tion of the temper of the English Court toward "rebels." An article of capitulation proposed by Cornwallis was rejected by Washington—"Natives or inhabitants of different parts of this country at present in York or Gloucester are not to be punished on account of having joined the British army." It was rejected upon principle: "The article can not be assented to, being altogether of civil resort." But Washington did not refuse his consent through any vindictive feeling. He allowed an article to stand, by which the *Bonetta* sloop of war should be left entirely at the disposal of Lord Cornwallis, and be permitted to sail to New York without examination. The Anspach sergeant records that Tories of the country who were in the British army, and the French and American deserters who had joined during the siege, thus passed unmolested. This fact was probably unknown in England when Cornwallis was bitterly blamed for consenting to the refusal of the tenth article. "He ought," says Walpole, "to have declared he would die rather than sacrifice the poor Americans who had followed him from loyalty against their countrymen."

Tories and deserters escape.

On the day that Cornwallis signed the capitulation, Clinton despatched the auxiliary force for his relief. When Cornwallis and his superior officer met at New York, their differences of opinion became a matter of serious controversy, which was subsequently

Controversy between Clinton and Cornwallis.

taken up in Parliamentary debates, and in pamphlets not devoid of personal acrimony. These charges and recriminations were soon forgotten in the more important political events that were a certain consequence of a calamity through which the war would very soon come to an end. There can be no doubt that the government felt the capitulation as an irremediable disaster. Wraxall, in his *Memoirs of his Own Time,* has related a conversation which he had with Lord George Germaine, as to the mode in which Lord North received the intelligence. Wraxall, a very slovenly and inaccurate writer, has confounded the official account of the surrender with a French Gazette that reached London on Sunday, the 25th of November. Clinton's despatch did not reach Lord George Germaine till midnight of the 25th, as shown by a minute on the back of the letter; and therefore Wraxall's statement that Lord George read the despatch to him and others at dinner, between five and six o'clock, is certainly incorrect. But nevertheless we can not, in common fairness, accuse the gossiping memoir-writer of having invented the conversation which he alleges took place at this dinner. He asked the Secretary how Lord North took the communication when made to him. The reply was, "As he would have taken a ball in his breast; for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apart-

North's reception of the news.

ment during a few minutes, 'Oh God! it is all over,'—words which he repeated many times, under emotions of the deepest consternation and distress." Lord George Germaine appears to have had very little official reticence, if Wraxall is to be believed, for he read to the same mixed company a letter from the King, in reply to the communication of the disastrous news: "I trust that neither Lord George Germaine nor any member of the Cabinet will suppose that it makes the smallest alteration in those principles of my conduct which have directed me in past time, and which will always continue to animate me under every event, in the prosecution of the present contest." Royal obstinacy.

The session of Parliament was opened on the 27th of November, 1781. The royal speech had been prepared before the news of the capitulation of Cornwallis had reached London on the 25th. The mover of the address had been appointed, and had got by heart the echo of the speech. The ministers had little time to prepare or alter the speech, says Walpole. They were obliged to find another mover of the address; for the young Lord Fielding, originally chosen, "avoided making himself as ridiculous as the royal speech." The inconsistency of the production is manifest. The beginning and the end declare the King's resolution to persevere in extinguishing the spirit of rebellion among his The King's speech.

deluded subjects in America, precisely in the same tone as if Cornwallis had sent Washington a prisoner to London. But one little sentence creeps in, which renders these words of sound and fury of no significance: "It is with great concern I inform you that the events of war have been very unfortunate to my arms in Virginia, having ended in the loss of my forces in that province." It was to be expected that the calamity of Yorktown would give new effect to the efforts of the Opposition to put an end to the war; but the temper which was evinced in this royal communication was calculated to raise hostility to a ministry into bitterness against the sovereign. Lord Shelburne talked of the greatness of mind with which his Majesty could rise superior to the dreadful situation of his affairs. "He was not surprised that ministers should take advantage of the noble sentiments of their monarch, and contrive and fabricate such a speech as should best flatter his personal feelings; but it was to be remembered that those ministers had never governed long for the people's advantage, in any country, who had not fortitude to withstand the mere impulse of their master's sentiments." Upon this point, it is curious to note the difference of opinion between two eminent statesmen of our own times. Lord Holland laments the weakness, while he enters into the chivalrous feelings, of Lord North, which induced him, in opposition to

The Opposition Parliament.

his better judgment, not to abandon a master who expressed for him such confidence, affection, and regard. Lord John Russell holds that the King's opinion that the independence of America would be tantamount to the ruin of the country was the opinion of Chatham and others of the most eminent of his subjects; that the King was only blamable for the obstinacy with which he clung to this opinion; but that Lord North, who was disposed to conciliate America, and was quite ready to consent to peace, by remaining in power to carry into effect the personal wishes of the sovereign, which he preferred to the welfare of the state, exhibited a conduct which might be Toryism, but was neither patriotic nor constitutional.

Lord North's devotion to the King.

[In 1782, Spain deprives England of Minorca, but Rodney defeats De Grasse and saves the British West Indies. In 1783, a treaty at Paris recognizes the independence of the United States; England gains the right to trade with the Dutch East Indies; Russia extends her conquests to the Black Sea. In 1785, the French court is degraded in the eyes of the populace by the affair of the Queen's Necklace; Warren Hastings resigns his powers and returns to England. In 1786, the King of France is in such difficulties with his ministers that he agrees to summon the Notables in 1787. In 1787, the Notables meet, but, rejecting the proposals of the ministry, are

England recognizes the independence of the United States.

Catherine II. forces war upon Turkey.

dissolved. Catherine II. visits the Crimea accompanied by Potemkine; she enters into an alliance with the Emperor and forces war upon Turkey; a convention of the United States, with the exception of Rhode Island, meets under the Presidency of Washington; England acquires Sierra Leone for settling freed slaves.]

THE RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF THE CRIMEA

(A.D. 1787—1792)

ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE

QUITE as insidious in her diplomacy as in her conquests, Catherine flattered the Emperor Joseph II. in compelling, by her menace, Holland to yield to that Prince the free navigation of the Scheldt.

Potemkine suggested to her, in 1787, the wish to be crowned at Cherson, as sovereign of the Taurid. This journey, which recalled that of Cleopatra on the Syrian coast, meant to dazzle her new subjects by the display of an Asiatic pomp, was destined also to charm the eyes of Joseph II. and the Western ambassadors by the extent and the fame of the territories and the seas over which Catherine led them in her train. A new favorite of the Empress, Momonof, a host of courtiers and women, ministers and ambassadors from France, England, and Austria, and the Prince de Ligne, a celebrated courtier, whose brilliant conversation was astonishing all Europe at this time, formed the triumphal train of a woman who had turned the whole of Europe

Object of Catherine's trip.

into a court. To show the Ottoman Empire to these representatives of Western courts as prey easy to seize, to make them dupes first and then accomplices in her designs upon the Bosphorus, to engage their responsibility in these prospects, and to obtain finally from them at least a tacit permission to do in Turkey what she had done in the Crimea, this was, after the pride of the voyage itself, the political object of this long trip across the Empire.

Objects of the progress.

The account given by the Prince de Ligne and the French ambassador, M. de Ségur, savors of the theatrical rather than the historical. One seems to travel with these courtiers in the realms of Fable: the flying sleighs drawn by hundreds of horses on roads illuminated by bonfires from post to post; the acclamations of the people along these routes; the regiments with the most celebrated generals in command encamped to salute the Empress from province to province; a way made through cataracts of the Dniester to permit the fifty galleys of the sovereign to sail down; the King of Poland, Poniatowski, running like a simple viceroy upon the bank of the Kanief, to bow before his former idol, now become that of the whole world; a secret maintenance of this already condemned and still deceived King; new villages with factitious façades crowning the hills on the borders of the river, to simulate population and opulence in the desert; the Emperor Joseph II.

Theatrical pomp.

hastening by another route to Cherson and awaiting, like a vassal, the arrival of the Empress; palaces built in a day, the extravagance of a hundred million scattered on the route; Potemkine, accompanied by the most beautiful woman in the East, Madame de Witt, his mistress, doing the honors of the Crimea to his sovereign; the Empress of Russia lodged in Batschi-Seraïl, in the deserted but still sumptuous palace of the Khans; and at Pultowa, a representation, by two armies of 60,000 men, of the battle in which Charles XII. ceded fortune to Russia. Display of pomp.

In the midst of all this pomp, Catherine degraded herself in public by the most servile condescension toward her new favorite, the vulgar Momonof, the convive of emperors and kings. Finally, the half-whispered or confidential conferences of the Empress and Joseph II. on their project of appropriating these lands and these Ottoman seas, all these prodigies of power, luxury, fêtes, wit, and scandal, made the voyage in the Crimea the talk of Europe and posterity. Russia, personified in a woman with two faces, European and Oriental, with civilization in one hand and a sword in the other, appeared for the first time. Love and politics.

The courtly attitude of the French, English, Austrian, Spanish and Italian ambassadors, and the presence of the Emperor Joseph II. himself added the deference of Europe to the

pride of the Tsarina. A warning of fate seemed to arouse Joseph II. from his dreams of invading Turkey and Poland. The news of the revolution of his states in Brabant reached him while he was plotting attacks upon his neighbors. He left in great haste to defend his own provinces.

Joseph II. summoned to Brabant.

While this trip was taking place, Potemkine's agents were agitating the Egyptians in Cairo, the Greeks in Smyrna, the Roumanians in Moldavia and Wallachia, the Servians in their mountains and the Bulgarians in their valleys. The demands of the Divan were not answered. The Porte, disturbed by this inexplicable trip of the Empress and her intimacy with Joseph II., resolved to prevent the coalition, and declared war against Russia. This was exactly what Potemkine wanted.

Turkey declares war.

Eighty thousand Turks advanced upon Otchakoff, while the old admiral, Hassan-Pacha, entered the Black Sea with his sixteen vessels, eight frigates and thirty galleys. The spirit of the old Ottomans lived again in the words that Hassan addressed to his officers before embarking:

Hassan's speech to his officers.

"You know from whence I come and what I have done," he said to them; "a new field of honor calls me, as well as you, to sacrifice the last breath for the honor of our religion and in the service of the Sultan and the invincible nation that now demands the last drop of our blood. It is to fulfil this sacred duty that I now

separate myself from those of my family who are the dearest of all things to me. I have given liberty to all my slaves of both sexes; I have paid them all that I owe them and I have rewarded each according to his deserts. I have given a last farewell to my wife. I now come to engage in combat with the firm resolve to conquer or to die.—If I return, it will be a favor of the Most High. I do not wish to live a moment after glory has departed. Such is my unshaken resolution.

"You, who have always been my faithful companions, I have called you together to incite you to follow my example in this critical situation. If there is one here who does not feel the courage to die upon the field of battle, let him declare it freely; he will find indulgence from me and he will be dismissed at once. Those, on the contrary, who will lack the courage to execute my orders during an action must not count upon excuses attributing their flight to contrary winds or the disobedience of their sailors; for I swear by Mahomet and by the life of the Sultan that I will behead them as well as all his crew. But those who show courage in the performance of duty will be generously rewarded. Men, let all those who wish to follow me under these conditions rise and swear to obey me faithfully!"

Exhortation to valor.

At these words, all the captains rose and swore to conquer or die with their great admiral.

"Yes!" he then exclaimed, "I see my brave and faithful companions once again! Go now. Return to your ships. Call your crews together; repeat my speech to them; receive their oath, and hold yourselves in readiness to set sail to-morrow!"

The King of Sweden supports the Turks.

The Tartars of the Crimea and the Kouban responded to Hassan's war-cry by attempts at insurrection against the Russians. Gustavus III., King of Sweden, was the only European king that dared embrace the Turkish cause. His flotilla seized some Russian frigates that cruised near Sweden; he himself, profiting by the moment when all the Empress's troops were on the march against the Ottomans, advanced without resistance as far as Fredericksham.

The Swedes threaten Russia.

The unprotected capital did not seem to be a safe refuge for Catherine; it was believed that she had gone to Moscow. The reverberations of the cannon of the Swedes in Finland were heard in St. Petersburg. The Empress showed herself equal to the danger and superior to fear.

Catherine's bravery.

"As I write to you the noise of the cannon makes the windows of the palace shake," she informed her correspondent, the Prince de Ligne, "and my hand does not tremble."

The Swedes are defeated.

Admiral Greig, an English officer in her service, finally sallied forth from Cronstadt, and defeated the Swedish squadron in the naval battle of Hogland. Peace was negoti-

ated. Gustavus, although vanquished at sea, imposed imperious conditions,—the restitution of a part of Finland to Sweden and the mediation of Sweden to put an end to Catherine's war against the Turks.

"What language!" exclaimed Catherine. "If the King of Sweden will come to Moscow, I will show him what a woman like myself on the wreck of a great Empire can do."

The army deserts Gustavus.

The Swedish army, worked upon by the Russian faction and the malcontents of the revolution that was fomenting in Sweden, suddenly abandoned Gustavus in his isolated heroism, and refused to march any longer against Russia. The King, disarmed, tremblingly led his troops back to Sweden.

Suwaroff defeats the Turks.

During this short war with Sweden, the Turks, despite Hassan's courage, succumbed at Otchakoff before the intrepid Suwaroff, whose name began to emerge from obscurity during this siege. Potemkine, generalissimo of all the armies on land and sea, despotically governed all the military operations of the subordinate generals, from Poland to the Dniester, from the Pruth to the Kouban. He dreamed, they say, of imitating Orloff in constructing a personal empire out of those vast fragments of Bessarabia, Crimea, Wallachia, Moldavia and Poland, torn from the Sarmates, the Tartars and the Ottomans. The Austrians, commanded by the Prince of Cobourg, who

became subsequently celebrated by his campaigns against the French Revolution, conquered Choksim. Potemkine finally took Otchakoff by assault, which he contemplated from afar as if it were a circus performance given to his favorites and mistresses. The assault, the pillage and the massacre of Otchakoff heaped up 45,000 corpses of Russians and Ottomans that were confused in the streets, the ramparts, and the river. On the one side there was no pity, and there was no plea for life on the other: death was the one arbiter between the two races.

Potemkine takes Otchakoff.

Europe, fascinated by writers in the pay of Russia, applauded this atrocious extermination of an innocent town by a satrap of the North. The Empress sent Potemkine a present of 100,000 roubles, a marshal's baton incrusted with diamonds and surrounded by a branch of laurel with golden leaves; she conferred upon him, moreover, the title of hetman of the Cossacks, taken from the old and perfidious Razomouski, who had betrayed Peter III., his benefactor. An aigrette of diamonds and the rank of general rewarded Suwaroff.

Suwaroff, encouraged by these distinctions from his sovereign, rapidly displayed a savage genius which turned him into the Russian Hannibal. The victory of Fokshani, won by Suwaroff against the Turks, confirmed his renown. That of Rimnik, where, with 30,000

Suwaroff's success.

Russians, he defeated 200,000 Turks, gave him the surname of Riminsky, and the title of Count of the Holy Roman Empire and Count of the Russian Empire.

The only bulwark of Turkey was Ismaïl. Potemkine besieged it seven months. Surrounded in his camp by a following of women and courtiers, he recalled the luxury and licentiousness of Antony in Egypt. One day when he was superstitiously consulting the decrees of fate by means of one of the fortune-tellers of his court, who read by means of cards, he suddenly cried out: "I know a more certain oracle than this!" And addressing the chief of his staff-officers, he ordered him to send Suwaroff and his army to Ismaïl. Siege of Ismail.

Suwaroff arrived and thus harangued his army: "No mercy to the vanquished, children!" he said with the ferocity of a barbarian stoic; "provisions are dear!" Suwaroff's ferocity.

In the evening Ismaïl was taken. The corpses of 15,000 of Suwaroff's soldiers were piled in the moats: 45,000 Ottomans—soldiers, citizens, men, women, old men and children—had diminished the price of provisions in the camp. "Madame," Potemkine wrote to Catherine, "proud Ismaïl is at your feet." Hassan died of grief upon learning of the fall of this bulwark of his country. The young French volunteer officers, Roger de Damas, the Langerons, and the Richelieus, flying into the camps of foreigners upon the first agitations of

the French Revolution, ornamented Potemkine's court, and proved their valor at the siege of Ismaïl.

Potemkine's triumphal journey.

Catherine, elated by the triumph of her generals, made public her wish to transplant the capital to Constantinople. After this campaign, Potemkine was called to the capital, and arrived there through a route that was illuminated throughout the length of the eight days' journey. Couriers, sent out twice every twenty-four hours ahead of him to report news of him to the Empress, ceaselessly came and went between St. Petersburg and the post where the triumphant general was spending the night. A deputation of ministers and senators went as far as Moscow to carry him congratulations and almost the homage of his sovereign. His entrance into the capital equalled the Roman triumphs after the wars in Asia.

Trial of Warren Hastings.

[In 1788, George III. goes mad and his son is appointed Regent; the trial of Warren Hastings begins; in France, Necker is recalled and the States-General are summoned for the following year; England, Holland and Germany form an alliance to maintain the peace of Europe, particularly for the protection of Turkey against Russia and Austria; Sweden also declares war against Russia on her invasion of Turkey, but is defeated, and, in turn, invaded by the Danes, whereupon she

THE SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE AT SARATOGA

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retires; the Constitution of the United States is accepted by all the States except Rhode Island and North Carolina; convicts are landed at Botany Bay, and New South Wales is colonized. In 1789, George III. recovers his reason and resumes his powers; Gustavus of Sweden makes the monarchy absolute; Washington is elected President of the United States; the city of Washington is laid out and the Tammany Society is founded.]

Washington is elected President.

THE BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

(A.D. 1789)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

Accession of Louis XVI.

LOUIS XVI. succeeded his grandfather on the 10th of May, 1774. Then twenty years of age, he had been already four years married to Marie Antoinette, the beautiful daughter of Maria Theresa. The young couple entered with the fresh joy of their years into the gayeties of the coronation, and all high-born France rang with the noise of feasting. But in every square mile of the land there were men whose wives and children cried to them in vain for bread.

Louis XV. had left a debt of four thousand millions of livres. It was a gigantic task—an unsolvable problem—to support an expensive court and government under this enormous pressure. Old Maurepas, the first prime minister of Louis XVI., tried it and failed. Turgot, a clever disciple of Voltaire and Diderot, failed too. The lawyer Malesherbes had to give place to Necker, a banker of Geneva, who reformed the taxation and restored public credit during his five years' tenure of

office (1776-81). Then Calonne took the purse from Necker, who was dismissed by a court-cabal; and never was seen such a financier. When the King or Queen wanted money to meet a jeweller's bill, or pay the expenses of a ball, or what purpose you please, this smiling, witty minister never refused to honor the demand. His plan was a simple one, but by no means a new invention. We meet Calonnes every day of our lives. He borrowed on every side, without one thought of repayment. For a time this lasted. But the day came when even Calonne could not fill the royal treasury, and some new plan must be devised to make both ends meet, and stave off clamorous creditors; and the expedient adopted in this difficulty was the assembling of the Notables—the chief nobles and magistrates gathered from all parts of France, who met at Versailles. Calonne wanted to make up for the deficiency of revenue by a land-tax, but his proposal was rejected by these lords of the soil. They suggested other plans, which were adopted by the King.

Calonne as a financier.

Then came the dismissal of Calonne, who was soon succeeded by Brienne, Archbishop of Toulon. But Brienne could do nothing to stem the rising tide, and Necker was recalled in 1788. There was then only 250,000 francs in the royal treasury.

Necker yielded to the cry for a meeting of the States-General,—an assembly not unlike

Meeting of the States-General.

our English Parliament. There had been no such thing since the days of Richelieu. It was a sign that the day of despotism in France was, for a time at least, nearly over.

All over France the elections went on, and no man who wore a good coat was refused leave to vote. Three millions of the people sent up their deputies—lawyers, doctors, priests, farmers, writers for the press—to the great States-General, in which, for the first time during nearly two hundred years, the down-trodden *"tiers état"* was to sit in council with the nobles and the high clergy. After hearing a sermon in Notre Dame, they met in a great hall at Versailles. Here a difficulty arose. The deputies of the *tiers état* would not submit to be separated from the other houses. Sitting in their own chamber, they asked the coronets and mitres to join them; and, when the invitation was rejected in scorn, they formed themselves into the National Assembly. The King, forgetting the lesson he might have learned when, in early days, he read the History of England with Fleury, stationed soldiers at the door of the hall to keep out the members of Assembly. This was the fatal move. Bailly, then president, led them to the Jeu de Paume (Tennis Court), where they swore a solemn oath not to dissolve their Assembly until they had framed a constitution for France. Then the mitres and some of the coronets began to flock into the

The National Assembly.

Assembly hall. Among the latter sat the Duke of Orleans, infamously known as Philip Egalité,—a name he took to please the mob; and the Marquis de Lafayette, a hero of the American war. But greatest of the throng in fiery eloquence and political genius was the ugly debauchee, Honoré Gabriel, Comte de Mirabeau, who sat as deputy for the town of Aix. Robespierre, too,—the sea-green, as Carlyle loves to call him,—whose pinched face, deeply pitted with the small-pox, was soon to be the guiding-star of the Jacobins, had already in thin cracked voice made his maiden speech.

At last, after many muttered warnings, and long-gathering darkness, the tempest broke in awful fury. A fierce mob, whose souls were leavened with infidelity, and brutalized by changeless misery and never-satisfied hunger, raged through Paris streets. The spark which fired the mine was a rumor that the soldiers were marching to dissolve the Assembly. Necker, too, the sole hope of the starving people, had been dismissed. Cockades of green leaves, torn from the trees, became the badge of the rioters. Shots were heard in many quarters. An old man was killed by a bullet from the German guards.

The tempest breaks

Then the grim old prison of the Bastile was stormed. Within its dark walls hundreds of innocent hearts had broken, pierced through with the iron of hopeless captivity. The ter-

rible *lettres de cachet*—sealed orders from the King to arrest and fling into prison without a trial, and often without any distinct charge —had packed its dungeons with wretched men during the late reign. Little wonder, then, that the first rush of the mob was to the Bastile.

Storming of the Bastile.

The flames then burst out all through the land, except in La Vendée. The *chateaux* of the nobles were pillaged and burned to the ground. Tortures were inflicted by the fierce peasants upon their former masters. The royal *Fleur de Lis* was trampled in the mud, and the *Tricolor* upraised.

March of women to Versailles.

One day in autumn a swarm of women gathered round the Hôtel-de-Ville, crying, "Bread! give bread!" It became the nucleus of a riotous crowd, surging with wild outcries through the streets. Then out came Millard with a drum, who said he would lead them to Versailles. Outside the barriers he strove to disperse them, but no—they would go on. Hungry and wet with heavy rain, when they found that the King and the Assembly would give them only words, they gathered round the palace. Some fool fired on them. Sweeping through an open gate, they spread through all the splendid rooms; and the Queen had scarcely time to escape by a secret door, when her bedchamber was filled with a fierce and squalid throng. The timely arrival of Lafayette, and the consent of the King to remove to Paris, alone quelled the tumult.

The next year saw sweeping changes in the constitution of France. The Assembly, of which Mirabeau was the master-spirit, proceeded to parcel out the kingdom into eighty-four departments of nearly equal size. Stripping the King of his patronage, they gave the appointment of new magistrates and officers to the people. Violent hands, too, were laid on the Church lands; and to create a currency, by which these might be purchased, paper bills—called *Assignats*—were issued. But these speedily became worth nothing, for nearly all the gold and silver coin was either carried out of France by the flying nobles, or buried in quiet corners of the field or the garden.

Changes in the French constitution

Hereditary titles were abolished; and no greetings were heard in the streets but "citizen" and "citizeness." On the first anniversary of the storming of the Bastile there was a grand pageant in the Champ de Mars, where the King, the Assembly, the soldiers, and the people swore a solemn oath to maintain the new constitution of France. The Jacobin club, so called from holding its meetings in a hall lately occupied by the Jacobin friars in Paris, now began to be formidable in its influence over the Assembly. Branch societies, all in correspondence with the central club, grew up in every corner of France. The dismissal of Necker, who was not radical enough in his policy to please the heads of the As-

The Jacobins.

sembly, took place in the last month of this most threatening year.

Death of Mirabeau.

Dark and still darker grew the sky. Mirabeau, "our little mother Mirabeau," as the fishwomen of the gallery used lovingly to call him, was made President of the Assembly in January, 1791. He exerted all his giant genius to quell the storm, whose rising gusts had been felt at the Bastile and Versailles; and poor Louis clung to the hope that this aristocratic darling of the rabble might yet save him. But Mirabeau died in April; and while the spring blossoms were brightening in all the fields of France, the Bourbon lilies drooped their golden heads. There seemed no hope for Louis but in flight. He fled in despair, but was recognized, stopped at Varennes, and brought back to Paris.

The Constituent Assembly, having sat for three years, passed a resolution dissolving itself (Sept. 29). The breaking of the nobles' power, the establishment of the National Guard, and the abolition of torture, *lettres de cachet,* and many oppressive taxes, were among the boons it had conferred on France. Its place was taken by a new body called the Legislative Assembly, which began to sit on the 1st of October.

The three parties.

Three distinct factions were already clearly marked out in this terrible time, and among these a strife began for pre-eminence. It was, in truth, a battle to the death.

The spirit of the vanished Assembly was embodied in the party of the *Feuillants,* who sat on the right of the tribune. These friends of limited monarchy numbered among them the National Guard and most of the officers of State. The *Girondists,* or Moderate Republicans, formed the second party. Occupying the highest seats in the hall, and therefrom called the "Mountain," sat the Red Republicans—chiefly members of the Jacobin and Cordeliers Clubs—whose rallying cry was "No King." The list of this third party contained those terrible names which make us shudder at their very sound, and turn sick with thoughts of blood.

Brunswick's invasion.

The sympathy of the neighboring sovereigns for the wretched Louis, and for the imperilled cause of monarchy, led them now to interfere. A great army of Austrians and Prussians, under the Duke of Brunswick, entered the French territory. Already the violent manifesto which Brunswick issued had roused the French to show a most determined front.

Matters then grew worse than ever at the centre of the Revolution. The Paris mob rose like a sea, swelled by some troops from Marseilles, who, first singing along Paris streets the war-hymn of Rouget de Lisle, caused it henceforth to be known as the Marseillaise. Amid pealing bells, and drums beating the *générale* in every street, they crowded to the Tuileries, whose steps were soon piled with the

Sack of the Tuileries.

bleeding bodies of the brave Swiss Guards. Louis escaped to the Assembly; but he was imprisoned with his family in the old palace of the Temple. A National Convention was summoned. Lafayette fled to the Netherlands, where he was arrested by the Austrians.

The National Convention

While the prisons of Paris were still wet with innocent blood, shed by order of the Jacobin leaders, Dumouriez, having taken command of the French army, was marshalling his men on the Belgian frontier. Crossing into Belgium, he inflicted a signal defeat upon the allies at the village of Jemappes

Battle of Jemappes.

(November 6). Acting as aide-de-camp of the French leader was the young Duke of Chartres, whom we know better in later days as Louis Philippe, King of the French.

The Assembly gave place to the National Convention, whose members were also elected by the people. The wildest orators of the clubs found here their fitting sphere. But three men stood far above the rest in lust of blood. These were Danton, Marat, and Robespierre. The lawyer, Danton, was a strong, thunder-voiced bully, who held office as Minister of Justice. Marat, a quack-doctor and editor of the *People's Friend,* was the most bloodthirsty villain of the lot. Robespierre we have already seen sitting on the benches of the Constituent Assembly, a very serpent coiled for his deadly spring. Now the time had come. Louis must die.

The trial of the King, for treason and conspiracy against the nation, began in December. He denied, with proud calmness, the justness of the charge. But denial was useless before judges such as his. Death was the sentence of the court after a discussion of some days. At ten o'clock on a January morning he was brought in a carriage to the Place de Louis XV., where the guillotine awaited its noblest victim. Before the fatal knife fell, he tried to address the crowd, who were stunned for the time into deep silence; but the incessant rattle of drums drowned his voice, and in a few seconds more the head of poor Louis Capet—so his Republican murderers called him—rolled bleeding in the sawdust.

Execution of Louis XVI.

THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE

(A.D. 1789)

THOMAS CARLYLE

IN any case, behold, about nine in the morning, our National Volunteers rolling in long, wide flood southwestward to the Hotel des Invalides; in search of the one thing needful. King's Procureur, M. Ethys de Corny, and officials are there; the Curé of Saint-Etienne du Mont marches unpacific at the head of his militant Parish; the clerks of the Basoche in red coats we see marching, now Volunteers of the Basoche; the Volunteers of the Palais Royal:—National Volunteers, numerable by tens of thousands; of one heart and mind. The King's muskets are the Nation's; think, old M. de Sombreuil, how, in this extremity, thou wilt refuse them! Old M. de Sombreuil would fain hold parley, send couriers; but it skills not: the walls are scaled, no Invalide firing a shot; the gates must be flung open. Patriotism rushes in, tumultuous, from grunsel up to ridge-tile, through all rooms and passages; rummaging distractedly for arms. What cellar, or what cranny can escape it? The arms are found; all safe there; lying

The National Volunteers.

To arms.

packed in straw—apparently with a view to being burnt! More ravenous than famishing lions over dead prey, the multitude, with clangor and vociferation, pounces on them; struggling, dashing, clutching:—to the jamming-up, to the pressure, fracture and probable extinction of the weaker Patriot. And so, with such protracted clash of deafening, most discordant Orchestra-music, the Scene is changed; and eight-and-twenty thousand sufficient firelocks are on the shoulders of as many National Guards, lifted thereby out of darkness into fiery light.

Let Besenval look at the glitter of these muskets, as they flash by! Gardes Françaises, it is said, have cannon levelled on him, ready to open, if need were, from the other side of the river. Motionless sits he; "astonished," one may flatter one's self, "at the proud bearing (*fière contenance*) of the Parisians." —And now, to the Bastille, ye intrepid Parisians. There grapeshot still threatens: thither all men's thoughts and steps are now tending.

"To the Bastille!"

Old de Launay, as we hinted, withdrew "into his interior" soon after midnight of Sunday. He remains there ever since, hampered, as all military gentlemen now are, in the saddest conflict of uncertainties. The Hôtel-de-Ville "invites" him to admit National Soldiers, which is a soft name for surrendering. On the other hand, his Majesty's orders were precise. His garrison is but

eighty-two old Invalides, reinforced by thirty-two young Swiss; his walls indeed are nine feet thick, he has cannon and powder; but, alas, only one day's provision of victuals. The city too is French, the poor garrison mostly French. Rigorous old De Launay, think what thou wilt do!

The garrison.

All morning, since nine, there has been a cry everywhere: "To the Bastille!" Repeated "deputations of citizens" have been here, passionate for arms; whom De Launay has got dismissed by soft speeches through portholes. Toward noon, Elector Thuriot de la Rosière gains admittance; finds De Launay indisposed for surrender; nay, disposed for blowing up the place rather. Thuriot mounts with him to the battlements: heaps of paving-stones, old iron and missiles lie piled; cannon all duly levelled; in every embrasure a cannon,—only drawn back a little. But outward, behold, O Thuriot, how the multitude flows on, welling through every street; tocsin furiously pealing, all drums beating the *générale:* the Suburb Saint-Antoine rolling hitherward wholly, as one man! Such vision (spectral yet real) thou, O Thuriot, as from thy Mount of Vision, beholdest in this moment; prophetic of what other Phantasmagories, and loud-gibbering Spectral Realities, which thou yet beholdest not, but shalt. "*Que voulez-vous?*" said De Launay, turning pale at the sight, with an air of reproach, almost of menace. "Monsieur,"

said Thuriot, rising into the moral-sublime, "what mean *you?*" Consider if I could not precipitate *both* of us from this height,—"say only a hundred feet, exclusive of the walled ditch." Whereupon De Launay fell silent. Thuriot shows himself from some pinnacle, to comfort the multitude becoming suspicious, fremescent; then descends; departs with protest; with warning addressed also to the Invalides,—on whom, however, it produces but a mixed indistinct impression. The old heads are none of the clearest; besides, it is said, De Launay has been profuse of beverages (*prodigua des buissons*). They think they will not fire,—if not fired on, if they can help it; but must, on the whole, be ruled considerably by circumstances.

De Launay's perplexities.

Woe to thee, De Launay, in such an hour, if thou canst not, taking some one firm decision, *rule* circumstances! Soft speeches will not serve; hard grapeshot is questionable; but hovering between the two is *un*questionable. Ever wilder swells the tide of men; their infinite hum waxing ever louder, into imprecations, perhaps into crackle of stray musketry,—which latter, on walls nine feet thick, can not do execution. The Outer Drawbridge has been lowered for Thuriot; new *deputation of citizens* (it is the third, and noisiest of all) penetrates that way into the Outer Court: soft speeches producing no clearance of these, De Launay gives fire; pulls up his Drawbridge.

De Launay opens fire.

A slight sputter;—which has *kindled* the too combustible chaos; made it a roaring fire-chaos! Bursts forth Insurrection, at sight of its own blood (for there were deaths by that sputter of fire), into endless, rolling explosion of musketry, distraction, execration;—and overhead, from the Fortress, let one great gun, with its grapeshot, go booming, to show what we *could* do. The Bastille is besieged!

On, then, all Frenchmen, that have hearts in your bodies! Roar with all your throats, of cartilage and metal, ye Sons of Liberty, stir spasmodically whatsoever of utmost faculty is in you, soul, body, or spirit; for it is the hour! Smite, thou Louis Tournay, cartwright of the Marais, old soldier of the Regiment Dauphiné; smite at the Outer Drawbridge chain, though the fiery hail whistles round thee! Never, over nave or felloe, did thy axe strike such a stroke. Down with it, man; down with it to Orcus: let the whole accursed Edifice sink thither, and Tyranny be swallowed up forever! Mounted, some say, on the roof of the guard-room, some "on bayonets stuck into joints of the wall," Louis Tournay smites, brave Aubin Bonnemère (also an old soldier) seconding him: the chain yields, breaks; the huge Drawbridge slams down, thundering (*avec fracas*). Glorious: and yet, alas, it is still but the outworks. The Eight grim Towers, with their Invalide musketry, their paving-stones and cannon-mouths, still soar aloft

The drawbridge falls.

intact;—Ditch yawning impassable, stone-faced; the inner Drawbridge with its *back* toward us: the Bastille is still to take!

To describe this Siege of the Bastille (thought to be one of the most important in history), perhaps transcends the talent of mortals. Could one but, after infinite reading, get to understand so much as the plan of the building! But there is open Esplanade, at the end of the Rue Saint-Antoine; there are such Forecourts, *Cour Avancé, Cour de l'Orme,* arched Gateway (where Louis Tournay now fights); then new drawbridges, dormant-bridges, rampart-bastions, and the grim Eight Towers; a labyrinthic Mass, high-frowning there, of all ages from twenty years to four hundred and twenty;—beleaguered, in this its last hour, as we said, by mere Chaos come again! Ordnance of all calibres; throats of all capacities; men of all plans, every man his own engineer; seldom since the war of Pygmies and Cranes was there seen so anomalous a thing. Half-pay Elie is home for a suit of regimentals; no one would heed him in colored clothes: half-pay Hulin is haranguing Gardes Françaises in the Place de Grève. Frantic Patriots pick up the grapeshots; bear them, still hot (or seemingly so), to the Hôtel-de-Ville:—Paris, you perceive, is to be burnt! Flesselles is "pale to the very lips"; for the roar of the multitude grows deep. Paris wholly has got to the acme of its frenzy;

Plan of the prison.

Paris in frenzy.

whirled, all ways, by panic madness. At every street-barricade, there whirls simmering a minor whirlpool,—strengthening the barricade, since God knows what is coming; and all minor whirlpools play distractedly into that grand Fire-Mahlstrom which is lashing round the Bastille.

And so it lashes and it roars. Cholat, the wine-merchant, has become an impromptu cannoneer. See Georget, of the Marine Service, fresh from Brest, ply the King of Siam's cannon. Singular (if we were not used to the like): Georget lay, last night, taking his ease at his inn; the King of Siam's cannon also lay, knowing nothing of *him,* for a hundred years. Yet now, at the right instant, they have got together, and discourse eloquent music. For, hearing what was toward, Georget sprang from the Brest Diligence, and ran. Gardes Françaises also will be here, with real artillery: were not the walls so thick!—Upward from the Esplanade, horizontally from all neighboring roofs and windows, flashes one irregular deluge of musketry, without effect. The Invalides lie flat, firing comparatively at their ease from behind stone; hardly through portholes show the tip of a nose. We fall, shot; and make no impression!

Conflagration rages.

Let conflagration rage; of whatsoever is combustible! Guard-rooms are burnt; Invalides mess-rooms. A distracted "Perukemaker with two fiery torches" is for burning

"the saltpetres of the Arsenal";—had not a woman run screaming; had not a patriot, with some tincture of Natural Philosophy, instantly struck the wind out of him (butt of musket on pit of stomach), overturned barrels, and stayed the devouring element. A young beautiful lady, seized escaping in these Outer Courts, and thought falsely to be De Launay's daughter, shall be burnt in De Launay's sight; she lies swooned on a paillasse: but again a Patriot—it is brave Aubin Bonnemère, the old soldier—dashes in, and rescues her. Straw is burnt; three cartloads of it, hauled thither, go up in white smoke: almost to the choking of Patriotism itself; so that Elie had, with singed brows, to drag back one cart; and Réole, the "gigantic haberdasher," another. Smoke as of Tophet; confusion as of Babel; noise as of the Crack of Doom!

Futile deputations.

Blood flows; the aliment of new madness. The wounded are carried into houses of the Rue Cerisaie; the dying leave their last mandate not to yield till the accursed Stronghold fall. And yet, alas, how fall? The walls are so thick! Deputations, three in number, arrive from the Hôtel-de-Ville; Abbé Fauchet (who was of one) can say, with that almost superhuman courage of benevolence. These wave their Townflag in the arched Gateway; and stand, rolling their drum; but to no purpose. In such Crack of Doom, De Launay can not hear them: they return, with justified

rage, the whew of lead still singing in their ears. What to do? The Firemen are here, squirting with their fire-pumps on the Invalides' cannon, to wet the touchholes; they unfortunately can not squirt so high; but produce only clouds of spray. Individuals of classical knowledge propose *catapults*. Santerre, the sonorous Brewer of the Suburb Saint-Antoine, advises rather that the place be fired, by a "mixture of phosphorus and oil-of-turpentine spouted up through forcing-pumps": O Spinola-Santerre, hast thou the mixture *ready?* Every man his own engineer! And still the fire-deluge abates not: even women are firing, and Turks; at least one woman (with her sweetheart), and one Turk. Gardes Françaises have come: real cannon, real cannoneers. Usher Maillard is busy; half-pay Elie, half-pay Hulin rage in the midst of thousands.

Artillery arrives.

How the great Bastille Clock ticks (inaudible) in its Inner Court there, at its ease, hour after hour, as if nothing special, for it or the world, were passing! It tolled One when the firing began; and is now pointing toward Five, and still the firing slakes not.—Far down, in their vaults, the seven Prisoners hear muffled din as of earthquakes; their Turnkeys answer vaguely.

Woe to thee, De Launay, with thy poor hundred Invalides! Broglie is distant, and his ears heavy: Besenval hears, but can send no help. One poor troop of Hussars has crept,

reconnoitring, cautiously along the Quais, as far as the Pont Neuf. "We are come to join you," said the Captain; for the crowd seems shoreless. A large-headed dwarfish individual, of smoke-bleared aspect, shambles forward, opening his blue lips, for there is sense in him; and croaks: "Alight, then, and give up your arms!" The Hussar-Captain is too happy to be escorted to the Barriers, and dismissed on parole. Who the squat individual was? Men answer, It is M. Marat, author of the excellent pacific *Avis au Peuple!* Great truly, O thou remarkable Dogleech, is this thy day of emergence and new-birth: and yet this same day come four years!—But let the curtains of the Future hang.

Marat comes to the front.

What shall De Launay do? One thing only De Launay could have done: what he said he would do. Fancy him sitting, from the first, with lighted taper, within arm's-length of the Powder-Magazine; motionless, like old Roman Senator, or Bronze Lamp-holder; coldly apprising Thuriot, and all men, by a slight motion of his eye, what his resolution was:—Harmless he sat there, while unharmed; but the King's Fortress, meanwhile, could, might, would, or should in nowise be surrendered, save to the King's Messenger: one old man's life is worthless so it be lost with honor; but think, ye brawling *canaille,* how will it be when a whole Bastille springs skyward!—In such statuesque, taper-holding attitude, one

De Launay's irresolution.

fancies De Launay might have left Thuriot, the red Clerks of the Basoche, Curé of Saint-Stephen and all the tagrag-and-bobtail of the world, to work their will.

And yet, withal, he could not do it. Hast thou considered how each man's heart is so tremulously responsive to the hearts of all men; hast thou noted how omnipotent is the very sound of many men? How their shriek of indignation palsies the strong-soul; their howl of contumely withers with unfelt pangs? The Ritter Glück confessed that the ground-tone of the noblest passage, in one of his noblest Operas, was the voice of the Populace he had heard at Vienna, crying to their Kaiser: "Bread! Bread!" Great is the combined voice of men; the utterance of their *instincts,* which are truer than their *thoughts:* it is the greatest a man encounters, among the sounds and shadows which make up this World of Time. He who can resist that has his footing somewhere *beyond* Time. De Launay could not do it. Distracted, he hovers between two; hopes in the middle of despair; surrenders not his Fortress; declares that he will blow it up. Unhappy old De Launay, it is the death-agony of thy Bastille and thee! Jail, Jailering and Jailer, all three, such as they may have been, must finish.

The Voice of the Populace.

For four hours now has the World-Bedlam roared: call it the World-Chimæra, blowing fire! The poor Invalides have sunk under

their battlements, or rise only with reversed muskets: they have made a white flag of napkins; go beating the *chamade,* or seeming to beat, for one can hear nothing. The very Swiss at the Portcullis look weary of firing; disheartened in the fire-deluge: a porthole at the Drawbridge is opened, as by one that would speak. See Huissier Maillard, the shifty man! On his plank, swinging over the abyss of that stone Ditch; plank resting on parapet, balanced by weight of Patriots,—he hovers perilous: such a Dove toward such an Ark! Deftly, thou shifty Usher: one man already fell; and lies smashed, far down there, against the masonry! Usher Maillard falls not: deftly, unerring he walks, with outspread palm. The Swiss holds a paper through his porthole; the shifty Usher snatches it, and returns. Terms of surrender: Pardon, immunity to all! Are they accepted?—*"Foi d'officier* (On the word of an officer)," answers half-pay Hulin,—or half-pay Elie, for men do not agree on it,—"they are!" Sinks the Drawbridge—Usher Maillard bolting it when down; rushes in the living deluge: the Bastille is fallen! *Victoire! La Bastille est prise!*

Surrender of the Bastille.

[In 1790, Russia makes peace with Sweden. In America, the first petitions are presented against slavery. Vancouver explores the northwest coast of America. The second Mysore war begins.]

THE CONQUEST OF MYSORE

(A.D. 1790—1799)

SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER

THE second Mysore war of 1790-1792 is noteworthy on two accounts. Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, led the British army in person with a pomp and a magnificence of supply which recalled the campaigns of Aurangzeb. The two great southern powers, the Nizám of the Deccan and the Maratha Confederacy, co-operated as allies of the British. In the end, Tipú Sultán submitted when Lord Cornwallis had commenced to beleaguer his capital. He agreed to yield one-half of his dominions to be divided among the allies, and to pay three millions sterling toward the cost of the war. These conditions he fulfilled, but ever afterward he burned to be revenged upon his English conquerors. Lord Cornwallis retired in 1793, and was succeeded by Sir John Shore, afterward Lord Teignmouth.

Second Mysore war.

The period of Sir John Shore's rule as governor-general, from 1793 to 1798, was uneventful. In 1798, Lord Mornington, better known

as the Marquess Wellesley, arrived in India, already inspired with imperial projects which were destined to change the map of the country. Lord Mornington was the friend and favorite of Pitt, from whom he is thought to have derived his far-reaching political vision, and his antipathy to the French name. From the first he laid down as his guiding principle, that the English must be the one paramount power in the Indian peninsula, and the Native princes could only retain the insignia of sovereignty by surrendering their political independence. The history of India since his time has been but the gradual development of this policy, which received its finishing touch when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India on the 1st of January, 1877.

Marquess Wellesley, 1798–1805.

To frustrate the possibility of a French invasion in India, led by Napoleon in person, was the immediate governing idea of Wellesley's foreign policy. France at this time, and for many years later, filled the place afterward occupied by Russia in the minds of Indian statesmen. Nor was the danger so remote as might now be thought. French regiments guarded and overawed the Nizám of Haidarábád. The soldiers of Sindhia, the military head of the Maráthá Confederacy, were disciplined and led by French adventurers. Tipú Sultán of Mysore carried on a secret correspondence with the French Directory, allowed a tree of liberty to be planted in his dominions,

French influence in India.

Napoleon's schemes.

and enrolled himself in a republican club as "Citizen Tipú." The islands of Mauritius and Bourbon afforded a convenient half-way rendezvous for French intrigue and for the assembling of a hostile expedition. Above all, Napoleon Bonaparte was then in Egypt, dreaming of the Indian conquests of Alexander the Great, and no man knew in what direction he might turn his hitherto unconquered legions.

Wellesley conceived the scheme of crushing forever the French hopes in Asia, by placing himself at the head of a great Indian confederacy. In lower Bengal, the sword of Clive and the policy of Warren Hastings had made the English paramount. Before the end of the century, our power was consolidated from the seaboard to Benares, high up the Gangetic valley. Beyond our frontier, the Nawáb Wasír of Oudh had agreed to pay a subsidy for the aid of British troops. This sum in 1797 amounted to £760,000 a year; and the Nawáb, being always in arrears, entered into negotiations for a cession of territory in lieu of a cash payment. In 1801, the treaty of Lucknow made over to the British the Doáb, or fertile tract between the Ganges and the Jumna, together with Rohilkhand. In Southern India, our possessions were chiefly confined, before Lord Wellesley, to the coast districts of Madras and Bombay, Wellesley resolved to make the British su-

Treaty of Lucknow.

preme as far as Delhi in Northern India, and to compel the great powers of the south to enter into subordinate relations to the Company's government. The intrigues of the native princes gave him his opportunity for carrying out this plan without a breach of faith. The time had arrived when the English must either become supreme in India, or be driven out of it. The Mughal Empire was completely broken up; and the sway had to pass either to the local Muhammadan governors of that empire, or to the Hindu Confederacy, represented by the Maráthás, or to the British. Lord Wellesley determined that it should pass to the British.

Lord Wellesley's policy.

His work in Northern India was at first easy. The treaty of Lucknow in 1801 made us territorial rulers as far as the heart of the present Northwestern Provinces, and established our political influence in Oudh. Beyond those limits, the northern branches of the Maráthás practically held sway, with the puppet Emperor in their hands. Lord Wellesley left them untouched for a few years until the second Maráthá war (1801-1804) gave him an opportunity for dealing effectively with their nation as a whole. In Southern India, he saw that the Nizám at Haidarábád stood in need of his protection, and he converted him into a useful follower throughout the succeeding struggle. The other Muhammadan power of the south, Tipú Sultán

of Mysore, could not be so easily handled. Lord Wellesley resolved to crush him, and had ample provocation for so doing. The third power of Southern India—namely, the Maráthá Confederacy—was so loosely organized that Lord Wellesley seems at first to have hoped to live on terms with it. When several years of fitful alliance had convinced him that he had to choose between the supremacy of the Maráthás or of the British in Southern India, he did not hesitate to decide.

Treaty with the Nizam (1798).

Lord Wellesley first addressed himself to the weakest of the three southern powers, the Nizám of Haidarábád. Here he won a diplomatic success, which turned a possible rival into a subservient ally. The French battalions at Haidarábád were disbanded, and the Nizám bound himself by treaty not to take any European into his service without the consent of the English Government,—a clause since inserted in every engagement entered into with native powers.

Third Mysore war (1799).

Wellesley next turned the whole weight of his resources against Tipú, whom Cornwallis had defeated but not subdued. Tipú's intrigues with the French were laid bare, and he was given an opportunity of adhering to the new subsidiary system. On his refusal war was declared, and Wellesley came down in viceregal state to Madras to organize the expedition in person, and to watch over the course of events. Our English army marched

into Mysore from Madras, accompanied by a contingent from the Nizám. Another advanced from the western coast. Tipú, after a feeble resistance in the field, retired into Seringapatam, his capital, and, when it was stormed, died fighting bravely in the breach. Death of Tipu. Since the battle of Plassey, no event so greatly impressed the natives as the capture of Seringapatam, which won for General Harris an eventual peerage, and for Wellesley an Irish marquessate. In dealing with the territories of Tipú, Wellesley acted with moderation. The central portion, forming the old State of Mysore, was restored to an infant representative of the Hindu Rájás, whom Haidar Ali had dethroned; the rest of Tipú's dominion was partitioned between the Nizám, the Maráthás, and the English. At about the same time, the Karnátik, or the part of South-eastern India ruled by the Nawáb of Arcot, and also the principality of Tanjore, were placed under direct British administration, The Madras Presidency. thus constituting the Madras Presidency almost as it has existed to the present day. The sons of the slain Tipú were treated by Lord Wellesley with paternal tenderness. They received a magnificent allowance, with a semi-royal establishment, first at Vellore, and afterward in Calcutta. The last of them, Prince Ghulám Muhammad, who survived to 1877, was long a well-known citizen of Calcutta, and an active justice of the peace.

United States Constitution amended.

[In 1791, ten amendments are added to the Constitution of the United States; an insurrection breaks out in San Domingo. In 1792, Gustavus III. of Sweden is assassinated; Catherine II. begins to negotiate with Austria and Prussia for the final partition of Poland; Godoy becomes supreme in Spain.]

THE BATTLE OF VALMY

(A.D. 1792)

E. S. CREASY

FRANCE now calls herself a republic. She first assumed that title on the 20th of September, 1792, on the very day on which the battle of Valmy was fought and won. To that battle the democratic spirit which in 1848, as well as in 1792, proclaimed the Republic in Paris, owed its preservation, and it is thence that the imperishable activity of its principles may be dated.

France becomes a republic.

Far different seemed the prospects of democracy in Europe on the eve of that battle, and far different would have been the present position and influence of the French nation, if Brunswick's columns had charged with more boldness, or the lines of Dumouriez resisted with less firmness. When France, in 1792, declared war with the great powers of Europe, she was far from possessing that splendid military organization which the experience of a few revolutionary campaigns taught her to assume. The army of the old monarchy had, during the latter part of the reign of Louis XV., sunk into gradual decay,

both in numerical force and in efficiency of equipment and spirit. The laurels gained by the auxiliary regiments which Louis XVI. sent to the American war did but little to restore the general tone of the army. The insubordination and license which the revolt of the French guards, and the participation of other troops in many of the first excesses of the Revolution, introduced among the soldiery, were soon rapidly disseminated through all the ranks. Under the Legislative Assembly, every complaint of the soldier against his officer, however frivolous or ill-founded, was listened to with eagerness and investigated with partiality, on the principles of liberty and equality. Discipline accordingly became more and more relaxed; and the dissolution of several of the old corps, under the pretext of their being tainted with an aristocratic feeling, aggravated the confusion and inefficiency of the war department. Many of the most effective regiments during the last period of the monarchy had consisted of foreigners. These had either been slaughtered in defence of the throne against insurrections, like the Swiss, or had been disbanded, and had crossed the frontier to recruit the forces which were assembling for the invasion of France. Above all, the emigration of the *noblesse* had stripped the French army of nearly all its officers of high rank, and of the greatest portion of its subalterns. Above twelve thousand of the

Condition of the French army.

high-born youth of France, who had been trained to regard military command as their exclusive patrimony, and to whom the nation had been accustomed to look up as its natural guides and champions in the storm of war, were now marshalled beneath the banner of Condé and the other emigrant princes for the overthrow of the French armies and the reduction of the French capital. Their successors in the French regiments and brigades had as yet acquired neither skill nor experience; they possessed neither self-reliance, nor the respect of the men who were under them.

Such was the state of the wrecks of the old army; but the bulk of the forces with which France began the war consisted of raw insurrectionary levies, which were even less to be depended on. The Carmagnoles, as the revolutionary volunteers were called, flocked, indeed, readily to the frontier from every department when the war was proclaimed, and the fierce leaders of the Jacobins shouted that the country was in danger. They were full of zeal and courage, "heated and excited by the scenes of the Revolution, and inflamed by the florid eloquence, the songs, dances, and signal-words with which it had been celebrated." But they were utterly undisciplined, and turbulently impatient of superior authority or systematic control. Many ruffians, also, who were sullied with participation in the most sanguinary horrors of Paris, joined

The Carmagnoles.

the camps and were pre-eminent alike for misconduct before the enemy and for savage insubordination against their own officers. On one occasion during the campaign of Valmy, eight battalions of federates, intoxicated with massacre and sedition, joined the forces under Dumouriez, and soon threatened to uproot all discipline, saying openly that the ancient officers were traitors, and that it was necessary to purge the army, as they had Paris, of its aristocrats. Dumouriez posted these battalions apart from the others, placed a strong force of cavalry behind them and two pieces of cannon on their flank. Then, affecting to review them, he halted at the head of the line, surrounded by all his staff, and an escort of a hundred hussars. "Fellows," he said, "for I will not call you either citizens or soldiers, you see before you this artillery, behind you this cavalry; you are stained with crimes, and I do not tolerate here assassins or executioners. I know that there are scoundrels among you charged to excite you to crime. Drive them from among you, or denounce them to me, for I shall hold you responsible for their conduct."

Insubordination of the army.

In the hopes of profiting by the unprepared state of Austria, then the mistress of the Netherlands, the French opened the campaign of 1792, by an invasion of Flanders, with forces whose muster-rolls showed a numerical overwhelming superiority to the enemy, and seemed to promise a speedy con-

The French invade Flanders.

quest of that old battlefield of Europe. But the first flash of an Austrian sabre or the first sound of an Austrian gun was enough to discomfit the French. Their first corps, four thousand strong, that advanced from Lille across the frontier, came suddenly upon a far inferior detachment of the Austrian garrison of Tournay. Not a shot was fired, nor a bayonet levelled. With one simultaneous cry of Panic, the French broke and ran headlong back to Lille, where they completed the specimen of insubordination which they had given in the field by murdering their general and several of their chief officers. On the same day, another division under Biron, mustering ten thousand sabres and bayonets, saw a few Austrian skirmishers reconnoitring their position. The French advanced posts had scarcely given and received a volley, and only a few balls from the enemy's field-pieces had fallen among the lines, when two regiments of French dragoons raised the cry "We are betrayed," galloped off, and were followed in disgraceful rout by the rest of the whole army. Similar panics, or repulses almost equally discreditable, occurred whenever Rochambeau, or Luckner, or Lafayette, the earliest French generals in the war, brought their troops into the presence of the enemy.

Cowardice of the untrained troops.

Meanwhile the allied sovereigns had gradually collected on the Rhine a veteran and finely disciplined army for the invasion of

France, which for numbers, equipment, and martial renown, both of generals and men, was equal to any that Germany had ever sent forth to conquer. Their design was to strike boldly and decisively at the heart of France, and, penetrating the country through the Ardennes, to proceed by Châlons upon Paris. The obstacles that lay in their way seemed insignificant. The disorder and imbecility of the French armies had been even augmented by the forced flight of Lafayette and a sudden change of generals. The only troops posted on or near the track by which the allies were about to advance were the 23,000 men at Sedan, whom Lafayette had commanded, and a corps of 20,000 near Metz, the command of which had just been transferred from Luckner to Kellermann. There were only three fortresses which it was necessary for the allies to capture or mask—Sedan, Longwy, and Verdun. The defences and stores of all these three were known to be wretchedly dismantled and insufficient; and when once these feeble barriers were overcome and Châlons reached, a fertile and unprotected country seemed to invite the invaders to that "military promenade to Paris" which they gayly talked of accomplishing.

The allies cross the French frontier.

At the end of July, the allied army, having fully completed all preparations for the campaign, broke up from its cantonments, and, marching from Luxembourg upon Longwy,

crossed the French frontier. Sixty thousand Prussians, trained in the schools, and many of them under the eye of the great Frederic, heirs of the glories of the Seven Years' War, and universally esteemed the best troops in Europe, marched in one column against the central point of attack. Forty-five thousand Austrians, the greater part of whom were picked troops, and had served in the recent Turkish war, supplied two formidable corps that supported the flanks of the Prussians. There was also a powerful body of Hessians; and leagued with the Germans against the Parisian democracy came 15,000 of the noblest and the bravest among the sons of France. In these corps of emigrants, many of the highest born of the French nobility, scions of houses whose chivalric trophies had for centuries filled Europe with renown, served as rank and file.

Troops of the allies.

Over this imposing army the allied sovereigns placed as generalissimo the Duke of Brunswick, one of the minor reigning princes of Germany, a statesman of no mean capacity, and who had acquired in the Seven Years' War a military reputation second only to that of the great Frederic himself.

Moving majestically forward, the allies appeared before Longwy on the 20th of August, and the dispirited and despondent garrison opened the gates of that fortress to them after the first shower of bombs. On the 2d of

Longwy captured.

Verdun capitulates.

September, the still more important stronghold of Verdun capitulated after scarcely the shadow of resistance.

Brunswick's superior force was now interposed between Kellermann's troops on the left and the other French army near Sedan, which Lafayette's flight had, for a time, left destitute of a commander. It was in the power of the German general, by striking with an overwhelming mass to the right and left, to crush in succession each of these weak armies, and the allies might then have marched irresistibly and unresisted upon Paris. But at this crisis Dumouriez, the new commander-in-chief of the French, arrived at the camp near Sedan, and commenced a series of movements by which he reunited the dispersed and disorganized forces of his country, checked the Prussian columns at the very moment when the last obstacle to their triumph seemed to have given way, and finally rolled back the tide of invasion far across the enemy's frontier.

Dumouriez checks the Prussians.

The French fortresses had fallen; but nature herself still offered to brave and vigorous defenders of the land the means of opposing a barrier to the progress of the allies. A ridge of broken ground, called the Argonne, extends from the vicinity of Sedan toward the southwest for about fifteen or sixteen leagues. The country of L'Argonne has now been cleared and drained; but in 1792 it was

Description of L'Argonne.

thickly wooded, and the lower portions of its unequal surface were filled with rivulets and marshes. It thus presented a natural barrier of from four to five leagues broad, which was absolutely impenetrable to an army, except by a few defiles, such as an inferior force might easily fortify and defend. Dumouriez succeeded in marching his army from Sedan behind the Argonne, and in occupying its passes, while the Prussians still lingered on the northeastern side of the forest line. Ordering Kellermann to wheel round from Metz to St. Menehould, and the reinforcements from the interior and extreme north also to concentrate at that spot, Dumouriez trusted to assemble a powerful force in the rear of the southwest extremity of the Argonne, while with the twenty-five thousand men under his immediate command he held the enemy at bay before the passes, or forced him to a long circumvolution round one extremity of the forest ridge, during which favorable opportunities of assailing his flank were almost certain to occur. Dumouriez fortified the principal defiles, and boasted of the Thermopylæ which he had found for the invaders; but the simile was nearly rendered fatally complete for the defending force. A pass, which was thought of inferior importance, had been but slightly manned, and an Austrian corps, under Clairfayt, forced it after some sharp fighting. Dumouriez with great difficulty saved him-

Dumouriez occupies the passes.

The Austrians gain a pass.

Retreat of Dumouriez.

self from being enveloped and destroyed by the hostile columns that now pushed through the forest. But instead of despairing at the failure of his plans, and falling back into the interior, to be completely severed from Kellermann's army, to be hunted as a fugitive under the walls of Paris by the victorious Germans, and to lose all chance of ever rallying his dispirited troops, he resolved to cling to the difficult country in which the armies still were grouped, to force a junction with Kellermann and so place himself at the head of a force which the invaders would not dare to disregard, and by which he might drag them back from the advance on Paris, which he had not been able to bar. Accordingly, by a rapid movement to the south, during which, in his own words, "France was within a hair's-breadth of destruction," and after with difficulty checking several panics of his troops, in which they ran by thousands at the sight of a few Prussian hussars, Dumouriez succeeded in establishing headquarters in a strong position at St. Menehould protected by the marshes and shallows of the rivers Aisne and Aube, beyond which, to the northwest, rose a firm and elevated plateau, called Dampiere's camp, admirably situated for commanding the road by Châlons to Paris, and where he intended to post Kellermann's army so soon as it came up.

The news of the retreat of Dumouriez from

the Argonne passes, and the panic flight of some divisions of his troops, spread rapidly throughout the country, and Kellermann, who believed that his comrade's army had been annihilated, and feared to fall among the victorious masses of the Prussians, had halted on his march from Metz when almost close to St. Menehould. He had actually commenced a retrograde movement when couriers from his commander-in-chief checked him from the fatal course: and then continuing to wheel round the rear and left flank of the troops at St. Menehould, Kellermann, with twenty thousand of the army of Metz, and some thousands of volunteers, who had joined him in the march, made his appearance to the west of Dumouriez on the very evening when Westermann and Thouvenot, two of the staff officers of Dumouriez, galloped in with the tidings that Brunswick's army had come through the upper passes of the Argonne in full force and was deploying on the heights of La Lune, a chain of eminences that stretched obliquely from southwest to northeast, opposite the high ground which Dumouriez held, also opposite, but at a shorter distance from the position which Kellermann was designed to occupy.

Kellermann halts.

Advance of Brunswick.

The allies were now, in fact, much nearer to Paris than were the French troops themselves; but, as Dumouriez had foreseen, Brunswick deemed it unsafe to march upon the capital with so large a hostile force left in his rear,

between his advancing columns and his base of operations. The young King of Prussia, who was in the allied camp, and the emigrant princes, eagerly advocated an instant attack upon the nearest French general. Kellermann had laid himself unnecessarily open, by advancing beyond Dampierre's camp, which Dumouriez had designed for him, and moving across the Aube to the plateau of Valmy, a post inferior in strength and space to that which he had left, and which brought him close upon the Prussian lines, leaving him separated by a dangerous interval from the troops under Dumouriez himself. It seemed easy for the Prussian army to overwhelm him while thus isolated, and then they might surround and crush Dumouriez at their leisure.

Kellermann's open position.

Accordingly, the right wing of the allied army moved forward in the gray of the morning of the 20th of September, to gain Kellermann's left flank and rear, and cut him off from retreat upon Châlons, while the rest of the army, moving from the heights of La Lune, which here converge semicircularly round the plateau of Valmy, were to assail his position in front, and interpose between him and Dumouriez. An unexpected collision between some of the advanced cavalry on each side in the low ground warned Kellermann of the enemy's approach. Dumouriez had not been unobservant of the danger of his comrade, thus isolated and involved, and he had ordered up

The plateau of Valmy.

troops to support Kellermann on either flank in the event of his being attacked. These troops, however, moved forward slowly; and Kellermann's army, ranged on the plateau of Valmy, "projected like a cape into the midst of the lines of Prussian bayonets." A thick autumnal mist floated in waves of vapor over the plains and ravines that lay between the two armies, leaving only the crests and peaks of the hills glittering in the early light. About ten o'clock the fog began to clear off, and then the French from their promontory saw emerging from the white wreaths of mist, and glittering in the sunshine, the countless Prussian cavalry, which were to envelop them as in a net if once driven from their position, the solid columns of the infantry, that moved forward as if animated by a single will, the bristling batteries of the artillery, and the glancing clouds of the Austrian light troops, fresh from their contests with the Spahis of the East.

Position of the French army.

Contrary to the expectation of both friends and foes, the French infantry held their ground steadily under the fire of the Prussian guns, which thundered on them from La Lune, and their own artillery replied with equal spirit and greater effect on the denser masses of the allied army. Thinking that the Prussians were slackening in their fire, Kellermann formed a column in charging order, and dashed down into the valley in the hope

The French charge.

of capturing some of the nearest guns of the enemy. A masked battery opened its fire on the French column, and drove it back in disorder, Kellermann having his horse shot under him, and being with difficulty carried off by his men. The Prussian columns now advanced in turn. The French artillerymen now began to waver and desert their posts, but were rallied by the efforts and example of their officers, and Kellermann, reorganizing the line of his infantry, took his station in the ranks on foot, and called out to his men to let the enemy come close up, and then to charge them with the bayonet. The troops caught the enthusiasm of their general, and a cheerful shout of "Vive la nation!" taken up by one battalion from another pealed across the valley to the assailants. The Prussians hesitated at a charge uphill against a force that seemed so resolute and formidable; they halted for a while in the hollow, and then slowly retreated up their own side of the valley.

Retreat of the Prussians.

Indignant at being thus repulsed by such a foe, the King of Prussia formed the flower of his men in person, and, riding along the column, bitterly reproached them with letting their standard be thus humiliated. Then he led them on again to the attack, marching in the front line, and seeing his staff mowed down around him by the deadly fire which the French artillery reopened. But the troops sent by Dumouriez were now co-operating ef-

fectually with Kellermann, and that general's own men, flushed by success, presented a firmer front than ever. Again the Prussians retreated, leaving eight hundred dead behind, and at nightfall the French remained victors on the heights of Valmy. Victorious France.

All hopes of crushing the Revolutionary armies, and of the promenade to Paris, had now vanished, though Brunswick lingered long in the Argonne, till distress and sickness wasted away his once splendid force, and finally but a mere wreck of it recrossed the frontier. France, meanwhile, felt that she possessed a giant's strength, and like a giant did she use it. Before the close of that year all Belgium obeyed the National Convention at Paris, and the kings of Europe, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, trembled once more before a conquering military republic.

THE REIGN OF TERROR

(A.D. 1793—1794)

HIPPOLYTE ADOLPHE TAINE

LET us trace the progress of the homicidal idea in the mass of the party. It lies at the very bottom of the revolutionary creed. Collot d'Herbois, two months after this, aptly says in the Jacobin tribune: "The second of September is the great article in the *credo* of our freedom." It is peculiar to the Jacobin to consider himself as a legitimate sovereign, and to treat his adversaries not as belligerents, but as criminals. They are guilty of *lèse nation;* they are outlaws, fit to be killed at all times and places, and deserve extinction, even when no longer able or in a condition to do any harm. Consequently, on the 10th of August the Swiss Guards, who do not fire a gun and who surrender, the wounded lying on the ground, their surgeons, the palace domestics, are killed; and, worse still, persons like M. de Clermont-Tonnerre who pass quietly along the street. All this now called, in official phraseology, the justice of the people.—On the 11th, the Swiss Guards, collected in

The homicidal mania.

The Swiss Guards.

the *Feuillants* building, came near being massacred; the populace on the outside of it demand their heads; "it conceives the project of visiting all the prisons in Paris to take out the prisoners and administer prompt justice on them."—On the 12th, in the markets, "divers groups of the low class call Pétion a scoundrel," because "he saved the Swiss in the Palais Bourbon"; accordingly, "he and the Swiss must be hung to-day."—In these minds turned topsy-turvy, the actual, palpable truth gives way to its opposite; "the attack was not begun by them; the order to sound the tocsin came from the palace; it is the palace which was besieging the nation, and not the nation which was besieging the palace." The vanquished "are the assassins of the people," caught in the act; and on the 14th of August the Federates demand a court-martial "to avenge the death of their comrades." And even a court-martial will not answer: "It is not sufficient to mete out punishment for crimes committed on the 10th of August, but the vengeance of the people must be extended to all conspirators;" to that "Lafayette, who probably was not in Paris, *but who may have been there;*" to all the ministers, generals, judges, and other officials guilty of maintaining legal order wherever it has been maintained, and of not having recognized the Jacobin government before it came into being. Let them be brought before, not the ordinary

The "assassins of the people."

courts, which are not to be trusted because they belong to the defunct régime, but before a specially organized tribunal, a sort of *"chambre ardente,"* elected by the sections, that is to say, by a Jacobin minority. These improvised judges must give judgment on conviction, without appeal; there must be no preliminary examinations, no intervals of time between arrest and execution, no dilatory and protective formalities. And above all, the Assembly must be expeditious in passing the decree; "otherwise," it is informed by a delegate from the Commune, "the tocsin will be rung at midnight and the general alarm sounded; for the people are tired of waiting to be avenged. Look out lest they do themselves justice!"—A moment more, new threats, and at a shorter date. "If the juries are not ready to act in two or three hours . . . great misfortunes will overtake Paris."

The new tribunal.

In vain the new tribunal, instantly installed, hastens its work and guillotines three innocent persons in five days; it does not move fast enough. On the 23d of August one of the sections declares to the Commune in furious language that the people themselves, "wearied and indignant" with so many delays, mean to force open the prisons and massacre the inmates.—Not only do they harass the judges, but they force the accused into their presence. A deputation from the Commune and the Federates summons the Assembly "to transfer the

criminals at Orleans to Paris, to undergo the penalty of their heinous crimes," "otherwise," says the orator, "we will not answer for the vengeance of the people."

Fear is evidently an adjunct of hatred. The Jacobin rabble is vaguely conscious of its inferior numbers, of its usurpation, of its danger, which increases in proportion as Brunswick draws near. It feels itself encamped over a mine, and if the mine should explode!— Since its adversaries are scoundrels they are capable of a sudden blow, of a plot, of a massacre; never itself having done anything else, it conceives no other idea; and, through an inevitable transposition of thought, it imputes to them the murderous intentions obscurely wrought out in the dark recesses of its own disturbed brain.

The Jacobin rabble.

Up to this time, in slaughtering or having it done, it was always as insurrectionists in the street; now, it is in places of imprisonment, as magistrates and functionaries, according to the registers of a lock-up, after proofs of identity and on snap judgments, by paid executioners, in the name of public security, methodically, and in cool blood, almost with the same regularity as subsequently under "the revolutionary government." September, indeed, is the beginning of it, the abridgment of it and the type; they will not do otherwise or better in the best days of the guillotine. Only, as they are as yet poorly supplied with tools, they

Murder under legal forms.

are obliged to use pikes instead of the guillotine, and, as diffidence is not yet entirely gone, the chiefs conceal themselves behind manœuvrings. Nevertheless, we can track them, take them in the act, and we possess their autographs; they planned, commanded, and conducted the operation. On the 30th of August, the Commune decided that the sections should try accused persons, and, on the 2d of September, five trusty sections reply to it by resolving that the accused shall be murdered. The same day, September 2, Marat takes his place on the Committee of Supervision. The same day, September 2, Panis and Sergent sign the commissions of "their comrades," Maillard and associates, for the Abbaye, and "order them to judge," that is to say, kill the prisoners. The same and the following days, at La Force, three members of the Commune, Hébert, Monneuse, and Rossignol, preside in turn over the assassin court. The same day, a commissary of the Committee of Supervision comes and demands a dozen men of the Sans-Culottes section to help massacre the priests of Saint Firmin. The same day, a commissary of the Commune visits the different prisons during the slaughterings, and finds that "things are going on well in all of them." The same day, at five o'clock in the afternoon, Billaud-Varennes, deputy-attorney for the Commune, "in his well-known puce-colored coat and black perruque," walking over the

The September massacres.

Billaud-Varennes.

corpses, says to the Abbaye butchers: "Fellow-citizens, you are immolating your enemies, you are performing your duty!" That night he returns, highly commends them, and ratifies his promise of the wages "agreed upon"; on the following day, at noon, he again returns, congratulates them more warmly, allows each one twenty francs, and urges them to keep on.—In the meantime, Santerre, summoned to the staff-office by Roland, hypocritically deplores his voluntary inability, and persists in not giving the orders, without which the National Guard can not stir a step. At the sections, the presidents, Chénier, Ceyrat, Boula, Momoro, Collot d'Herbois, send away or fetch their victims under pikes. At the Commune, the council-general votes 12,000 francs, to be taken from the dead, to defray the expenses of the operation. In the Committee of Supervision, Marat sends off despatches to spread murder through the departments.—It is evident that the leaders and their subordinates are unanimous, each at his post and in the service he performs; through the spontaneous co-operation of the whole party, the command from above meets the impulse from below; both unite in a common murderous disposition, the work being done with the more precision in proportion to its being easily done.—Jailers have received orders to open the prison doors, and give themselves no concern. Through an excess of precaution,

Paid assassins.

Jailer's orders.

the knives and forks of the prisoners have been taken away from them. One by one, on their names being called, they will march out like oxen in a slaughter-house, while about twenty butchers to each prison, from two to three hundred in all, will suffice to do the work.

But, in their own eyes, they are so many kings; "sovereignty is committed to their hands," their powers are unlimited; whoever doubts this is a traitor, and is properly punished; he must be put out of the way; while, for royal councillors, they take maniacs and knaves, who, through monomania or calculation, preach that doctrine, just the same as a negro king surrounded by white slave dealers, who urge him into raids, and by black sorcerers, who prompt him to massacre. How could such a man with such guides, and in such an office, be retarded by the formalities of justice, or by the distinctions of equity? Equity and justice are the elaborate products of civilization, while he is merely a political savage. In vain are the innocent recommended to his mercy! "Look here, citizen, do you, too, want to set us to sleep? Suppose that those cursed Prussian and Austrian beggars were in Paris, would they pick out the guilty? Wouldn't they strike right and left, the same as the Swiss did on the 10th of August? Very well, I can't make speeches, but I don't set anybody to sleep. I say, I am the father of a family—I have a wife and five

Political savagery.

children that I mean to leave here for the section to look after, while I go and fight the enemy. But I have no idea that while I am gone these villains here in prison and other villains, who would come and let them out, should cut the throats of my wife and children. I have three boys who I hope will some day be more useful to their country than those rascals you want to save. Anyhow, all that can be done is to let 'em out and give them arms, and we will fight 'em on an equal footing. Whether I die here or on the frontiers, scoundrels would kill me all the same, and I will sell my life dearly. But, whether it is done by me or by some one else, the prison shall be cleaned out of those cursed beggars, there, now!" At this a general cry is heard: "He's right! No mercy! Let us go in!" All that the crowd assent to is an improvised tribunal, the reading of the jailer's register, and prompt judgment; condemnation and slaughter must follow, according to the famous Commune, which simplifies things.—There is another simplification still more formidable, which is the condemnation and slaughter by categories. Any title suffices, Swiss, priest, officer, or servant of the King, "the moths of the civil list"; wherever a lot of priests or Swiss are found, it is not worth while to have a trial, as they can be killed in a heap.—Reduced to this, the operation is adapted to the operators; the arms of the new sovereign are

No mercy.

as strong as his mind is weak, and, through an inevitable adaptation, he degrades his work to the level of his faculties.

Degradation of the agent.

His work, in its turn, degrades and perverts him. No man, and especially a man of the people, rendered pacific by an old civilization, can, with impunity, become at one stroke both sovereign and executioner. In vain does he work himself up against the condemned and heap insult on them to augment his fury; he is dimly conscious of committing a great crime, and his soul, like that of Macbeth, "is full of scorpions." Through a terrible self-shrinking, he hardens himself against the inborn, hereditary impulses of humanity; these resist while he becomes exasperated, and, to stifle them, there is no other way but to "sup on horrors," by adding murder to murder. For murder, especially as he practices it, that is to say, with a naked sword on defenceless people, introduces into his animal and moral machine two extraordinary and disproportionate emotions which unsettle it: on the one hand, a sensation of omnipotence exercised uncontrolled, unimpeded, without danger, on human life, on throbbing flesh, and, on the other hand, an interest in bloody and diversified death, accompanied with an ever new series of contortions and exclamations. Formerly, in the Roman circus, one could not tear one's self away from it—the spectacle once seen, the spectator always returned to see it again. Just

The prison court a Roman circus.

at this time each prison court is a circus, and what makes it worse is that the spectators are likewise actors.—Thus, for them, two fiery liquids mingle together in one draught. To moral intoxication is added physical intoxication, wine in profusion, bumpers at every pause, revelry over corpses; and we see rising out of this unnatural creature the demon of Dante, at once brutal and refined, not merely a destroyer, but, again, an executioner, contriver and calculator of suffering, and radiant and joyous over the evil it accomplishes.

Moral and physical intoxication

They are joyous. They dance around each new corpse, and sing the *carmagnole;* they arouse the people of the quarter "to amuse them," and that they may have their share of "the fine fête," benches are arranged for "gentlemen," and others for "ladies": the latter, with greater curiosity, are additionally anxious to contemplate at their ease "the aristocrats" already slain; consequently, lights are required, and one is placed on the breast of each corpse.

Meanwhile, slaughter continues, and is carried to perfection. A butcher at the Abbaye complains that "the aristocrats die too quick, and that those only who strike first have the pleasure of it;" henceforth they are to be struck with the backs of the swords only, and made to run between two rows of their butchers, like soldiers formerly running a gantlet. If there happens to be a person well known,

The lust of blood.

it is agreed to take more care in prolonging the torment. At La Force, the Federates who come for M. de Rulhières swear "with frightful imprecations that they will cut off the first man's head who gives him a thrust with a pike;" the first thing is to strip him naked, and then, for half an hour, with the flat of their sabres, they cut and slash him until he drips with blood and is "skinned to his entrails."—All the unfettered instincts that live in the lowest depths of the heart start from the human abyss at once, not alone the heinous instincts with their fangs, but likewise the foulest with their slaver, but becoming more furious against women whose noble or infamous repute makes them conspicuous; on Madame de Lamballe, the Queen's friend; on Madame Desrues, widow of the famous poisoner; the flower-girl of the Palais Royal, who, two years before, had mutilated her lover, a French guardsman, in a fit of jealousy.

Delight in torture.

They kill and they drink, and drink and kill again. Weariness comes and stupor begins. One of them, a wheelwright's apprentice, has despatched sixteen for his share; another "has labored so hard at this merchandise as to leave the blade of his sabre sticking in it"; "I was more tired," says a Federate, "with two hours pulling limbs to pieces, right and left, than any mason any two days plastering a wall." The first excitement is gone, and now they strike automatically. Some of them fall

Orgies of wine and blood.

asleep stretched out on benches. Others, huddled together, sleep off the fumes of their wine, removed on one side. The exhalation from the carnage is so strong that the president of the civil committee faints in his chair, while the odor of the drinking-bout is equal to that of the charnel-house. A heavy, dull state of torpor gradually overcomes their clouded brains, the last glimmerings of reason dying out one by one, like the smoky lights on the already cold breasts of the corpses lying around them. Through the stupor spreading over the faces of butchers and cannibals, we see appearing that of the idiot. It is the revolutionary idiot, in which all conceptions, save two, have vanished, two fixed, rudimentary, and mechanical ideas, one destruction and the other that of public safety. With no others in his empty head, these blend together through an irresistible attraction, and the effect proceeding from their contact may be imagined. "Is there anything else to do?" asks one of these butchers in the deserted court. "If that is all," reply a couple of women at the gate, *"you must start something more,"* and, naturally, this is done.

Arrival of the idiot.

As the prisons are to be cleaned out, it is as well to clean them all out, and do it at once. After the Swiss, priests, the aristocrats, and the "white-skin gentlemen," there remain convicts and those confined through the ordinary channels of justice, robbers, assassins, and those

Cleaning out the prisons.

sentenced to the galleys in the Conciergerie, in the Châtelet, and in the Tour St. Bernard with branded women, vagabonds, old beggars, and boys confined in Bicêtre and the Salpétrière. They are good for nothing, cost something to feed, and, probably, cherish evil designs. At the Salpétrière, for example, the wife of Desrues, the poisoner, is, assuredly, like himself, "cunning, wicked, and capable of anything;" she must be furious at being in prison; if she could, she would set fire to Paris; she must have said so; she did say it—one more sweep of the broom.—This time, as the job is more foul, the broom is wielded by fouler hands; among those who seize the handle are the frequenters of jails. The butchers at the Abbaye, especially toward the close, had already committed thefts; here, at the Châtelet and the Conciergerie, they carry away "everything that seems to them suitable," even to the clothes of the dead, prison sheets and coverlids, even the small savings of the jailers, and, besides this, they enlist their cronies in the service. "Out of thirty-six prisoners set free, many were assassins and robbers, associated with them by the butchers. There were also seventy-five women, confined, in part, for larceny, who promised to faithfully serve their liberators." Later on, indeed, these are to become, at the Jacobin and Cordeliers clubs, the *tricoteuses* who fill their tribunes.—At the Salpétrière, "all the bullies of Paris, former

Madame Desrues.

Robbing the dead.

spies, . . . libertines, the rascals of France and all Europe, prepare beforehand for the operation," and rape alternates with massacre. —Thus far, at least, slaughter has been seasoned with robbery, and the grossness of eating and drinking; at Bicêtre, however, it is crude butchery, the carnivorous instinct alone satisfying itself. Among other prisoners are forty-three youths of the lowest class, from seventeen to nineteen years of age, placed there for correction by their parents, or by those to whom they are bound; one need only look at them to see that they are genuine Parisian scamps, the apprentices of vice and misery, the future recruits for the reigning band, and these the band falls on, beating them to death with clubs. At this age life is tenacious, and, no life being harder to take, it requires extra efforts to despatch them. "In that corner," said a jailer, "they made a mountain of their bodies."

Crude butchery.

There are six days and five nights of uninterrupted butchery, 171 murders at the Abbaye, 169 at La Force, 223 at the Châtelet, 328 at the Conciergerie, 73 at the Tour-Saint-Bernard, 120 at the Carmelites, 79 at Saint Firmin, 170 at Bicêtre, 35 at the Salpétrière; among the dead, 250 priests, 3 bishops or archbishops, general officers, magistrates, one former minister, one royal princess, belonging to the best names in France; and, on the other side, one negro, several low-class women,

Number of the victims.

young scapegraces, convicts, and poor old men. What man now, little or big, does not feel himself under the knife?—And all the more because the band has grown larger. Fournier, Lazowski, and Bécard, the chiefs of robbers and assassins, return from Orleans with fifteen hundred cutthroats. On the way they kill M. de Brissac, M. de Lessert, and forty-two others accused of *lèse-nation,* whom they wrested from their judges' hands, and then, by way of surplus, "following the example of Paris," twenty-one prisoners taken from the Versailles prisons. At Paris, the Minister of Justice thanks them, the Commune congratulates them, and the sections feast them, and embrace them.—Can anybody doubt that they were ready to begin again?

M. de Brissac killed.

[In 1795, the Dauphin dies. England and Austria enter into an alliance and the French are driven across the Rhine. Pichegru conquers Holland; captures the Dutch fleet, and establishes a Batavian Republic. The British evacuate Holland. They capture the Cape of Good Hope.]

Pichegru conquers Holland.

THE DIRECTOIRE

(A.D. 1795—1799)

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON

MEANWHILE, the Convention proceeded rapidly with the formation of the new Constitution. This was the *third* which had been imposed upon the French people during the space of a few years: a sufficient proof of the danger of incautiously overturning long-established institutions. The Constitution of 1795 was very different from those which had preceded it, and gave striking proof of the altered condition of the public mind on the state of political affairs. Experience had now taught all classes that the chimera of perfect equality could not be attained; that the mass of the people are unfit for the exercise of political rights; that the contests of factions terminate, if the people are victorious, in the supremacy of the most depraved. The constitution which was framed under the influence of these sentiments differed widely from the democratic institutions of 1793. The ruinous error was now acknowledged of uniting the whole legislative powers in one assembly, and enacting the

The Constitution of 1795.

most important laws without the intervention of any time to deliberate on their tendency, or recover from the excitement under which they may have originated. The legislative power, therefore, was divided into two councils, that of the Five Hundred and that of the Ancients. The Council of Five Hundred was intrusted with the sole power of originating laws; that of the Ancients with the power of passing or rejecting them; and to ensure the prudent discharge of this duty, no person could be a member of it till he had reached the age of forty years. No bill could pass till after it had been three times read, with an interval between each reading of at least five days.

The Five Hundred and the Ancients.

The executive power, instead of being vested, as heretofore, in two committees, was lodged in the hands of five directors, nominated by the Council of Five Hundred, approved by that of the Ancients. They were liable to be impeached for their misconduct by the councils. Each individual was, by rotation, to be president during three months; and every year a fifth new director was to be chosen, in lieu of one who was bound to retire. The Directory thus constituted had the entire disposal of the army and finances, the appointment of all public functionaries, and the management of all public negotiations. They were lodged, during the period of their official duty, in the Palace of the Luxembourg, and attended by a guard of honor.

The executive power.

The privilege of electing members for the Legislature was taken away from the great body of the people, and confined to the colleges of delegates. Their meetings were called the Primary Assemblies; and, in order to ensure the influence of the middling ranks, the persons elected by the Primary Assemblies were themselves the electors of the members of the Legislature. All popular societies were interdicted, and the press declared absolutely free.

The Primary Assemblies.

The formation of this Constitution, and its discussion in the assemblies of the people, to which it was submitted for consideration, excited the most violent agitation throughout France. Paris, as usual, took the lead. Its forty-eight sections were incessantly assembled, and the public effervescence resembled that of 1789. This was brought to its height by a decree of the assembly, declaring that two-thirds of the present Convention should form a part of the new Legislature, and that the electors should only fill up the remaining part. The citizens beheld with horror so large a proportion of a body, whose proceedings had deluged France with blood, still destined to reign over them. To accept the Constitution and reject this decree seemed the only way of getting free from their domination. The Thermidorian party had been entirely excluded from the committee of Eleven, to whom the formation of the new Constitution was in-

Great agitation in Paris.

trusted, and, in revenge, they joined the assemblies of those who sought to counteract their ambition. The focus of the effervescence was the section Lepelletier, formerly known by the name of that of the Filles de St. Thomas, the richest and most powerful in Paris, which, through all the changes of the Revolution, had steadily adhered to Royalist principles.

The focus of effervescence.

The Royalist committees of Paris, of which Le Maitre was the known agent, finding matters brought to this crisis, coalesced with the journals and the leaders of the sections. They openly accused the Convention of attempting to perpetuate their power, and of aiming at usurping the sovereignty of the people. The orators of the sections said at the bar of the assembly, "Deserve our choice—do not seek to command it; you have exercised an authority without bounds; you have united in yourselves all the powers, those of making laws, of revising them, of changing them, of executing them. Recollect how fatal military despotism was to the Roman Republic." The press of Paris teemed with pamphlets inveighing against the ambitious views of the Legislature, and the efforts of the sections were incessant to defeat their projects. The agitation of 1789 was renewed, but it was all now on the other side; the object now was, not to restrain the tyranny of the court, but repress the ambition of the delegates of the people.

Agitation of the press.

"Will the Convention," said the Royalist orators, "never be satisfied? Is a reign of three years, fraught with more crimes than the whole annals of twenty other nations, not sufficient for those who rose into power under the auspices of the 10th of August and the 2d of September? Is that power fit to repose under the shadow of the laws which has only lived in tempests? Let us not be deceived by the 9th Thermidor; the Bay of Quiberon, where Tallien bore so conspicuous a part, may show us that the thirst for blood is not extinguished even among those who overthrew Robespierre. The Convention has done nothing but destroy; shall we now intrust it with the work of conservation? What reliance can be placed on the monstrous coalition between the proscribers and the proscribed? Irreconcilable enemies to each other, they have only entered into this semblance of alliance in order to resist those who hate them—that is every man in France. It is we ourselves who have forced upon them those acts of tardy humanity, on which they now rely as a veil to their monstrous proceedings. But for our warm representations, the members *hors de la loi* would still have been wandering in exile, the seventy-three deputies still languishing in prison. Who but ourselves formed the faithful guard who saved them from the terrible faubourgs, to whom they had basely yielded their best members on the 31st of May? They now call upon

The Convention merely destructive.

us to select among its ranks those who should continue members, and form the two-thirds of the new assembly. Can two-thirds of the Convention be found who are not stained with blood? Can we ever forget that many of its basest acts passed *unanimously,* and that a majority of three hundred and sixty-one passed a vote which will be an eternal subject of mourning to France? Shall we admit a majority of regicides into the new assembly, intrust our liberty to cowards, our fortunes to the authors of so many acts of rapine, our lives to murderers? The Convention is only strong because it mixes up its crimes with the glories of our armies; let us separate them; let us leave the Convention its sins, and our soldiers their triumphs, and the world will speedily do justice to both."

A majority of regicides

Such discourses, incessantly repeated from the tribunes of forty-eight sections, violently shook the public mind in the capital. To give greater publicity to their sentiments, the orators repeated the same sentiments in addresses at the bar of the assembly, which were immediately circulated with rapidity through the departments. The effervescence in the south was at its height; many important cities and departments seemed already disposed to imitate the sections of the metropolis. The cities of Dreus and Chartres warmly seconded their wishes, while the sections of Orleans sent the following message: "Primary assemblies of

Extreme agitation in Paris.

Paris, Orleans is at your side, it advances on the same line; let your cry be resistance to oppression, hatred to usurpers, and we will second you."

The National Guard of Paris shared in the general excitation. The troops of the *Jeunesse Dorée* had inspired its members with part of their own exultation of feeling, and diminished much of their wonted timidity. Resistance to the tyrant was openly spoken of; the Convention compared to the Long Parliament, which shed the blood of Charles I.; and the assistance of a Monk ardently looked for to consummate the work of restoration. The *Jeunesse Dorée*.

Surrounded by so many dangers, the Convention did not abate of its former energy. They had lost the Jacobins by their proscriptions, the Royalists by their ambition. What remained? The Army; and this terrible engine they resolved to employ, as the only means of establishing their power. They lost no time in submitting the Constitution to the soldiers, and by them it was unanimously adopted. Military men, accustomed to obey, and to take the lead from others, usually, except in periods of uncommon excitement, adopt any constitution which is recommended to them by their officers. A body of five thousand regular troops were assembled in the neighborhood of Paris, and their adhesion eagerly announced to the citizens. The Convention called to their support the Pretorian Convention turns to the army.

Guards; they little thought how soon they were to receive from them a master.

The Departments accept the Constitution.

It soon appeared that not only the armies but a large majority of the departments had accepted the Constitution. The inhabitants of Paris, however, accustomed to take the lead in all public measures, were not discouraged; the section Lepelletier unanimously passed a resolution, "That the powers of every constituted authority ceased in presence of the assembled people; and a provisional government, under the name of a Central Committee, was established under the auspices of its leaders." A majority of the sections adopted this resolution, which was immediately annulled by the Convention, and their decree was, in its turn, reversed by the assemblies of the electors. The contest now became open between the sections and the Legislature; the former separated the Constitution from the decrees ordaining the re-election of two-thirds of the old assembly; they accepted the former, and rejected the latter.

Meeting of the electors at the Theatre Francais.

On the 3d of October (11th Vendemiaire) it was resolved by the sections that the electors chosen by the people should be assembled at the Théâtre Français, under protection of the National Guard; and on the 3d they were conducted there by an armed force of chasseurs and grenadiers. The dangers of an insurrection against a government, having at its command the military force of France, was

apparent; but the enthusiasm of the moment overbalanced all other considerations. On the one side it was urged, "Are we about to consecrate, by our example, that odious principle of insurrections which so many bloody days have rendered odious? Our enemies alone are skilled in revolt; the art of exciting them is unknown to us. The multitude is indifferent to our cause; deprived of their aid, how can we face the government? If they join our ranks, how shall we restrain their sanguinary excesses? Should we prove victorious, what dynasty shall we establish? what chiefs can we present to the armies? Is there not too much reason to fear that success would only revive divisions, now happily forgotten, and give our enemies the means of profiting by our discord?" But to this it was replied, "Honor forbids us to recede; duty calls upon us to restore freedom to our country, his throne to our monarch. We may now, by seizing the decisive moment, accomplish that which former patriots sought in vain to achieve. The 9th Thermidor only destroyed a tyrant; now tyranny itself is to be overthrown. If our names are now obscure, they will no longer remain so; we shall acquire a glory of which even the brave Vendéans shall be envious. Let us dare: that is the watchword in revolutions; may it for once be employed on the side of order and freedom. The Convention will never forgive our outrages; the revolutionary tyr-

Perplexing questions.

anny, curbed for more than a year by our exertions, will rise up with renewed vigor for our destruction, if we do not anticipate its vengeance by delivering ourselves." Moved by these considerations, the sections unanimously resolved upon resistance.

Resistance resolved upon.

The National Guard amounted to above thirty thousand men, but it was totally destitute of artillery; the sections having, in the belief that they were no further required, delivered up the pieces with which they had been furnished in 1789, upon the final disarming of the insurgent faubourgs. Their want was now severely felt, as the Convention had fifty pieces at their command, whose terrible efficacy had been abundantly proved on the 10th of August; and the cannoneers who were to serve them were the same who had broken the lines of Prince Cobourg. The National Guard hoped, by a rapid advance, to capture this formidable train of artillery, and then the victory was secure.

The leaders of the Convention, on their side, were not idle. In the evening of the 3d of October (11th Vendemiaire) a decree was passed, ordering the immediate dissolution of the electoral bodies in Paris, and embodying into a regiment fifteen hundred of the Jacobins, many of whom were liberated from the prisons for that especial purpose. These measures brought matters to a crisis between the sections and the government. This de-

Measures of the Convention

cree was openly resisted, and the National Guard having assembled in force to protect the electors at the Théâtre Français, the Convention ordered the military to dispossess them. General Menou was appointed commander of the armed force, and he advanced with the troops of the line to surround the Convent des Filles de St. Thomas, the centre of the insurrection, where the section Lepelletier was assembled.

Menou's weakness.

Menou, however, had not the decision requisite for success in civil contests. Instead of attacking the insurgents, he entered into a negotiation with them, and retired in the evening without having effected anything. His failure gave all the advantages of a victory to the sections, and the National Guard mustered in greater strength than ever, and resolved to attack the Convention at its place of assembly on the following day. Informed of this failure, and the dangerous fermentation which it had produced at Paris, the Convention, at eleven at night, dismissed General Menou, and gave the command of the armed force, with unlimited powers, to General Barras. He immediately demanded the assistance, as second in command, of a young officer of artillery who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon and the war in the Maritime Alps, Napoleon Bonaparte.

Napoleon's opportunities.

This young officer was immediately introduced to the committee. His manner was

timid and embarrassed; the career of public life was as yet new, but his clear and distinct opinions, the energy and force of his language, already indicated the powers of his mind. By his advice, the powerful train of artillery in the plains of Sablons, consisting of fifty pieces, was immediately brought by a lieutenant, afterward well known in military annals, named Murat, to the capital, and disposed in such a position as to command all the avenues to the Convention. Early on the following morning, the neighborhood of the Tuileries resembled a great intrenched camp. The line of defence extended from the Pont Neuf along the quays of the river to the Pont Louis XV.; the Place de Carrousel and the Louvre were filled with cannon, and the entrances of all the streets which open into the Rue St. Honoré were strongly guarded. In this position the commanders of the Convention awaited the attack of the insurgents. Napoleon was indefatigable in his exertions to inspire the troops with confidence: he visited every post, inspected every battery, and spoke to the men with that decision and confidence which is so often the prelude to victory.

He commands the avenues with artillery.

The action was soon commenced; above thirty thousand men, under Generals Danican and Duhoux, surrounded the little army of six thousand, who, with this powerful artillery, defended the seat of the Legislature. The firing began in the Rue St. Honoré at half-past

four; the grenadiers placed on the Church of St. Roche opened a fire of musketry on the cannoneers of the Convention, who replied by a discharge of grapeshot, which swept destruction through the serried ranks of the National Guard which occupied the Rue St. Honoré. Though the insurgents fought with the most determined bravery, and the fire from the Church of St. Roche was well sustained, nothing could resist the murderous grapeshot of the regular soldiers. Many of the cannoneers fell at their guns, but the fire of their pieces was not diminished. In a few minutes the Rue St. Honoré was deserted, and the flying columns carried confusion into the ranks of the reserve, who were formed near the Church of the Filles de St. Thomas. General Danican galloped off at the first discharge, and never appeared again during the day. Meanwhile, the Pont Neuf was carried by the insurgents, and a new column, ten thousand strong, advanced along the opposite quay to the Tuileries to attack the Pont Royal; Napoleon allowed them to advance within twenty yards of his batteries, and then opened his fire; the insurgents stood three discharges without flinching; but not having resolution enough to rush upon the cannon, they were ultimately driven back in disorder, and by seven o'clock the victory of the Convention was complete at all points. At nine, the troops of the line carried the posts of the National Guard in the

Attack of the Legislature.

The insurgents carry Pont Neuf.

Palais Royal, and on the following morning the section Lepelletier was disarmed, and the insurgents everywhere submitted.

Such was the result of the last insurrection of the people in the French Revolution; all the subsequent changes were effected by the Government or the armies without their interference. The insurgents were not the rabble or the assassins who had so long stained its history with blood; they were the flower of the citizens of Paris; comprising all that the Revolution had left that was generous, or elevated, or noble, in the capital. They were overthrown, not by the superior numbers or courage of their adversaries, but by the terrible effect of their artillery, by the power of military discipline, and the genius of that youthful conqueror before whom all the armies of Europe were destined to fall. The moral strength of the nation was all on their side; but in revolutions, it is seldom that moral strength proves ultimately victorious; and the examples of Cæsar and Cromwell are not required to show that the natural termination of civil strife is military despotism.

Total defeat of the insurgents.

The Convention made a generous use of their victory. The Girondists, who exercised an almost unlimited sway over the members, put in practice those maxims of clemency which they had so often recommended to others; the officers who had gained the victory felt a strong repugnance to their laurels being

Establishment of military despotism.

stained with the blood of their fellow-citizens. Few executions followed this decisive victory: M. Lafont, one of the military chiefs of the revolt, obstinately resisting the means of evasion which were suggested to him by the court, was alone condemned, and died with a firmness worthy of the cause for which he suffered. Most of the accused persons were allowed time to escape, and sentence of outlawry merely recorded against them; many returned shortly after to Paris, and resumed their place in public affairs. The clemency of Napoleon was early conspicuous: his counsels, after the victory, were all on the side of mercy, and his intercession saved General Menou from a military commission.

Generosity of the Convention.

Napoleon's clemency.

In the formation of the councils of the Five Hundred and of the Ancients, the Convention made no attempt to constrain the public wishes. The third of the Legislature who had been newly elected were almost all on the side of the insurgents, and even contained several Royalists; and a proposal was, in consequence, made by Tallien that the election of that third should be annulled, and another appeal made to the people. Thibaudeau, with equal firmness and eloquence, resisted the proposal, which was rejected by the Assembly. They merely took the precaution, to prevent a return to royalty, to name for the directors five persons who had voted for the death of the King—Lareveillere, Rewbell, Letourneur,

Barras, and Carnot. Having thus settled the new government, they published a general amnesty, changed the name of the Place de la Revolution into that of Place de la Concorde, and declared their sittings terminated. The last days of an assembly stained with so much blood were gilded by an act of clemency of which Thibaudeau justly said the annals of kings furnished few examples.

General amnesty.

[In 1796, the United Irishmen induce the Directoire to send an expedition to Ireland to establish a Republic. A storm ruins the expedition. Hoche pacifies Brittany and La Vendée. France invades Germany and retreats. Bonaparte successfully invades Italy. Spain enters into an alliance with the Directoire and declares war against Great Britain. The allies make a treaty to partition Portugal, which calls upon England for aid. Britain sends troops and prevents the invasion. Great Britain captures St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Ceylon. In 1797, Jervis defeats the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. A mutiny breaks out in the British fleets at Spithead, the Nore and the Texel, that is suppressed. Duncan defeats the Dutch off Camperdown.]

Hoche pacifies La Vendee.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF VENICE

(A.D. 1797)

J. C. L. DE SISMONDI

WE have now to speak only of the decline and fall of the Republic of Venice, the state in Italy whose existence was of longest duration. As this Republic was the most powerful, the most wealthy, and the most wisely administered of all the Italian States, it appeared, even after the year 1530, when all Italy fell under the yoke of Charles V., to have preserved some vigor and independence. But the signoria of Venice did not share in the illusion which it created abroad: it felt the nation's weakness and danger, and knew too well that the vital principle was gone.

Greatness of Venice.

The whole of the Sixteenth Century was employed by the Venetians in repairing the disasters of the League of Cambray. They had to rebuild all the walls of their city; to recover their reduced population; to re-establish their manufactures and agriculture, and to liquidate the enormous debt with which they were loaded; besides being always menaced by the

Venice's work in the Sixteenth century.

Turks, against whom they had to support two disastrous wars; one from 1537 to 1540, which cost them their islands in the Archipelago, and their last fortresses in the Morea; the other from 1570 to 1573, which deprived them of the Isle of Cyprus. They appeared in some degree sacred to the western people, who regarded them as their defenders against the infidels; they were, moreover, united by an identity of interests to the Roman Empire,—like them, menaced by the Mussulmans: they, consequently, drew closer their alliance with the House of Austria, and under that pretext withdrew themselves from every other participation in the general affairs of Europe.

Policy of the Venetian Republic.

But in the beginning of the Seventeenth Century the Mussulman empire no longer inspired so much terror. The yoke of Spain continued to grow more insupportable to Italy; while the development of the Protestant party in Europe showed some prospect of throwing it off. The policy of the Venetian Republic was, in fact, constantly to throw off the yoke of the House of Austria. But knowing its own weakness, and justly suspicious of allies who would abandon after compromising them, the Venetians contented themselves with giving succor to those whom they considered the defenders of European liberty, without openly making themselves a party in their leagues.

Venice was the first to acknowledge Henry

IV., rejected by the Catholic powers, and to negotiate his reconciliation with the Pope. In 1617, it made alliance with the Dutch. During the Thirty Years' War, it gave succor to the Protestants of Germany, to Bethlehem Gabor, and to Ragotski, in Hungary. It supported the Duke of Savoy against the King of Spain, and the Protestant Grisons against the Catholics of that canton.

Alliances and aids.

At this period, when the Republic was come almost to open hostility with the court of Spain, Philip III. was represented in Italy by three powerful noblemen, ambitious, intriguing, and faithless—Don Pedro de Toledo, Governor of Milan; the Duke d'Ossuna, Viceroy of Naples; and the Marquis de Bedmar, Ambassador at Venice. In 1618, a project was formed between these three lords to destroy a Republic which stood in the way of their ambition, and which had always thwarted the enterprises of Spain. Some French adventurers, who had signalized themselves in the armies and fleets of the Republic, of whom the most illustrious were the corsair Jaques Pierre and Jaffier, dissatisfied with the rewards which they had obtained, offered their services to the Marquis de Bedmar. The Marquis encouraged them to enlist in their service the assassins, bravos, and robbers who, under the Spanish rule, always formed a part of the household of men of quality. It was agreed that, at a given signal, they should

Conspiracy against the Republic.

massacre the Doge, Senators, and nobles; that the city should afterward be abandoned to their pillage; and that a general fire should veil their crimes. On the other side, it appears that Jaques Pierre gave early notice of this plot to the Senate; that he carried it on by its order; that the Senate made use of it to hide its secret intelligence with the Duke d'Ossuna, with whom a project was entered into of nearly the same nature with that which had been proposed in the preceding century by Morone to Pescara. It was intended, with the aid of the Senate, to re-establish the independence of all Italy, by driving the Spaniards out of Lombardy, and giving Ossuna the crown of Naples. Fresh disclosures of Antoine Jaffier apparently discovered to the Council of Ten that the conspirators preferred the pillage of Venice to the doubtful chances of a revolt at Naples; and that the information which they had given of their plot was destined only to deceive the vigilance of the State inquisitors. The Republic, however, had embarked itself in intrigues which could not bear the light. On a certain morning, the inhabitants of Venice saw with horror the bodies of Jaques Pierre, Regnault, Boulant, and several others, hanging in the square of St. Mark. One hundred and sixty others were, it was affirmed, drowned in the Grand Canal; among them was Jaffier. No motive was assigned for these executions; no explana-

Jaques Pierre and Antoine Jaffier.

tion was given to the public; no recrimination was addressed to the court of Spain. The Council of Ten desired, above all, the silence of terror; and the romantic history of this conspiracy, published by St. Réal, in 1674, and the tragedy of "Venice Preserved," by Otway, in 1682, were the only public documents of this catastrophe for a long time.

The silence of terror.

The Venetians were afterward forced by the attacks of the Turks to make advances to the House of Austria, the enemy of their enemies. On the 23d of June, 1645, the Sultan Ibrahim unexpectedly attacked the Isle of Candia. The war which thus began was the longest and most ruinous that the Republic had yet sustained against the Ottoman Empire: it lasted twenty-five years. The Venetians displayed obstinate valor in defence of Candia. Courageous adventurers arrived from every part of the west to fight under their banner, as in a holy war. Their fleet twice destroyed that of the Mussulmans; but the forces of the Republic were too disproportioned to those of the Turkish Empire. Candia was forced to surrender on the 6th of September, 1669; and the Senate of that colony, the reflected image of the Republic, returned into the Grand Council of Venice, which had given it birth: peace followed this capitulation.

Wars with the Turks.

Loss of Candia.

A second war between the Venetians and the Porte was, before the end of the century,

crowned with more success. The Republic engaged in it, in 1682, in concert with the Emperor Leopold and John Sobieski, King of Poland. It conquered the Morea, Egina, Santa Maura, and several fortresses in Dalmatia, which were secured to it by the treaty of Carlowitz, signed on the 26th of January, 1699; but the Turks could not suffer so feeble an enemy to take from them one of their finest provinces. They might soon visibly convince themselves that the Venetians were no longer in a state to make a last effort to protect their conquest: the supreme power was concentrated in an oligarchy becoming daily more distracted. Half the nobility admitted to the Grand Council were reduced to the most extreme poverty. They lived on the bounty of the great, to whom they sold their suffrages. The families from among whom alone was selected the Council of Ten made every other tremble and obey. They regarded the State as a prey to be divided among themselves. Justice was venal; the finances dilapidated; the fortifications falling into ruin; the effective force of the army did not amount to one-half of what appeared on the roll: everything was to the Venetian noble an object of embezzlement and robbery. The oppression of the distant provinces was so great that the eastern Christian subjects of the Republic regretted the dominion of the Ottomans. The Sultan, Achmet III., informed of this universal dis-

The Republic conquers the Morea.

Tyranny of the Council of Ten.

organization, sent his army, on the 20th of June, 1714, into the Morea; and in a month conquered that peninsula, covered with fortresses, of which not one made any resistance. On the 27th of June, 1718, the Republic abandoned, under the peace of Passarowitz, all its claims on the Morea. From that period it had no further war with the Turks. Triumph of the Turks.

The Republic abstained, with the same timidity, from taking any part in the war of the succession, either in Spain or Austria, in the quadruple alliance, or in that of the election of Poland, which disturbed Italy during the first half of the Eighteenth Century. It could not even make its neutrality respected. Its territory, always open to every belligerent power, was often the theatre of their most obstinate warfare. Venice, with 3,000,000 of subjects, 14,000 troops of the line (of which one-half was composed of excellent Sclavonian soldiers), twelve vessels of war, and the means of arming 50,000 men, was incapable of making herself respected, or of protecting her subjects, either by sea or land. Her debt, even in the bosom of peace, was always increasing; her manufactures always in decay; her territory was infested with robbers; every city was divided into factions, which the Senate encouraged, in order to weaken its subjects. A suspicious and cruel government, which maintained itself only by the vigilance of spies, which had promoted immorality to enervate Weakness and decay.

the people, which made the most profound secrecy its only safeguard,—which did not tolerate even a question on public affairs,—which deprived the accused of every protection before the tribunals,—which acknowledged no other limit to the right of punishing by the dagger, by poison, or by the axe of the executioner, than that of the terror of its rulers;—a government such as this became execrated by its subjects. It stained with the most odious tyranny the very name of republic.

The French Revolution.

The French Revolution appeared to the Venetian aristocracy an enemy destined to destroy it: of all the governments which divided Europe, the Venetian was the most opposite in principle to that of the French; nevertheless, the Senate refused to enter into the coalition against France, in 1792. Any display of force would have augmented its expenses, and diminished the spoils of provinces which the patricians divided among themselves. The same parsimony, the same sacrifice of the public to private interests, hindered Venice, when the victories of Bonaparte opened Lombardy to him, in April, 1796, from augmenting her army or provisioning her fortresses, in order to protect her territory from the two belligerent powers. The government, adopting a vacillating policy between the two parties, and awaiting events, laid aside its arms: this soon brought war into the States of the Republic. The Austrians, always the first to

violate neutral ground, traversed them in every direction: Beaulieu occupied Peschiera and Verona; Wurmser threw himself into Bassano, and passed through Vicenza and Padua: Alvinzi and the Archduke Charles occupied Friuli and Palma Nova, up to the eastern limits of the Republic. Napoleon successively drove the Austrians from each of these provinces; but, as the French occupied them, the spirit of reform in the tribunals and the laws, the spirit of publicity and equality, an impatience of every yoke,—the spirit, in short, of the French,—manifested itself, and the Republic was at last made to understand how much it was detested by all those who had the least elevation of soul or cultivation of mind.

Austria overruns Venetia.

General hatred of the Republic.

Others, it is true, of the lowest class (day-laborers in towns, and peasants in the country), completely under the influence of priests, comprehending only what exists, fearing all change, and still deeply excited by the name of St. Mark, regarded France and everything French with horror. The Senate, relying on this party, whose fanaticism it excited, and hearing that Napoleon had passed the Piave on his march to Germany, on the 11th of March, 1797, gave orders to arrest at Bergamo fourteen of the principal inhabitants, who had declared themselves the most earnest in favor of the new doctrines. The patriots, warned in time, arrested the proveditor himself, raised the standard of revolt, and proclaimed the lib-

erty of Bergamo: a few days afterward, a similar revolution broke out at Brescia. Bonaparte had just defeated the Archduke Charles at the Tagliamento, and was marching on Vienna. An Austrian column, commanded by Laudon, had meanwhile penetrated by the Tyrol into Italy, which he inundated with proclamations, announcing the defeat and destruction of the French army, and inviting the Italians to take arms to crush its fugitive remains. The Senate, feeling that its position became daily more critical, believed the moment come for throwing off the mask and joining the Austrians. Emili, the proveditor of Verona, after having conferred with Laudon, ordered the tocsin to be rung, on the 17th of April, throughout the whole province; and, joining 30,000 insurgents to 3,000 soldiers, whom he commanded, everywhere attacked the French, massacred all those within his reach, and suffered the infuriated people to murder 400 sick in the hospitals. The next day preliminaries of peace between Austria and the French Republic were signed at Leoben; and, on the 3d of May, 1797, Bonaparte, informed of the insurrection which had been organized in the rear of his army, and of the massacre of his sick, declared war against Venice from Palma Nova. The oligarchy, in consternation, implored the court of Vienna, which had drawn it into this imprudent attack, to include Venice in the suspension of

Invasion and revolt.

Venice attacks the French.

arms and the negotiations for peace; but Austria refused all assistance: she had her own views on her ally, and Venice fell. The French general, Baraguai d'Hilliers, entered the city on the 16th of May, and planted unopposed the tricolor banner on St. Mark. The negotiations for peace, however, continued. Austria, beginning to recover from her panic, disputed the cessions demanded, and asked compensation out of the States of her ally. Hostilities were on the point of recommencing; but France did not yet find herself strong enough to liberate all Italy. On the 17th of October, 1797, Napoleon signed the treaty of Campo Formio, by which he secured the liberty of one-half of the Venetian territory up to the Adige, which was united to the Cisalpine Republic. The Ionian Isles were, at the same time, united to France. Austria, on her side, took possession of Venice and the remainder of the Venetian States. The loss of liberty sustained by that part of the Republic was, however, of no long duration: at the expiration of eighteen months the war was renewed; and, after the French had made themselves masters of Vienna, they obliged Austria to restore Venice and all her territory to the kingdom of Italy, under the treaty of Presburg, signed on the 26th of December, 1805.

Austria refuses aid.

The Treaty of Campo Formio

Venice restored to Italy under the Treaty of Presburg.

[In 1798, a rebellion breaks out in Ireland, which is assisted by a French invasion: it is

suppressed. Napoleon goes to Egypt to create an Eastern Empire, and attacks England in India by the aid of Tippoo Sahib. He captures Malta on the way, and wins the battle of the Pyramids. Turkey declares war on France in consequence. The Pope is deprived of his temporal power by the French and a Roman Republic is proclaimed. France wars on Switzerland and sets up the Helvetic Republic.]

Tippoo Sahib.

THE BATTLE OF THE NILE

(A.D. 1798)

ROBERT SOUTHEY

WHY Bonaparte, having effected his landing, should not have suffered the fleet to return, has never yet been explained. Thus much is certain, that it was detained by his command; though, with his accustomed falsehood, he accused Admiral Brueys, after that officer's death, of having lingered on the coast, contrary to orders. The French fleet arrived at Alexandria on the 1st of July; and Brueys, not being able to enter the port, which time and neglect had ruined, moored his ships in Aboukir Bay, in a strong and compact line of battle; the headmost vessel, according to his own account, being as close as possible to a shoal on the northwest, and the rest of the fleet forming a kind of curve along the line of deep water, so as not to be turned by any means in the southwest. By Bonaparte's desire, he had offered a reward of 10,000 livres to any pilot of the country who would carry the squadron in; but none could be found who would venture to take charge of a single vessel drawing more than

Arrival of the French fleet at Alexandria.

Strength of the position.

twenty feet. He had, therefore, made the best of his situation, and chosen the strongest position which he could possibly take in an open road. The commissary of the fleet said, they were moored in such a manner as to bid defiance to a force more than double their own. This presumption could not then be thought unreasonable. Admiral Barrington, when moored in a similar manner off St. Lucia, in the year 1778, beat off the Comte d'Estaing in three several attacks, though his force was inferior by almost one-third to that which assailed it. Here, the advantage of numbers in ships, guns, and men was in favor of the French. They had thirteen ships of the line and four frigates, carrying 1,196 guns and 11,230 men. The English had the same number of ships of the line, and one fifty-gun ship, carrying 1,012 guns and 8,068 men. The English ships were all seventy-fours; the French had three eighty-gun ships, and one three-decker of 120.

Nelson's conferences.

During the whole pursuit, it had been Nelson's practice, whenever circumstances would permit, to have his captains on board the *Vanguard,* and explain to them his own ideas of the different and best modes of attack, and such plans as he proposed to execute, on falling in with the enemy, whatever their situation might be. There is no possible position, it is said, which he did not take into calculation. His officers were thus fully acquainted with his principles of tactics: and such was

his confidence in their abilities, that the only thing determined upon, in case they should find the French at anchor, was for the ships to form as most convenient for their mutual support, and to anchor by the stern. "First gain the victory," he said, "and then make the best use of it you can." The moment he perceived the position of the French, that intuitive genius with which Nelson was endowed displayed itself; and it instantly struck him, that where there was room for an enemy's ship to swing, there was room for one of ours to anchor. The plan which he intended to pursue, therefore, was to keep entirely on the outer side of the French line, and station his ships, as far as he was able, one on the outer bow, and another on the outer quarter, of each of the enemy's. This plan of doubling on the enemy's ships was projected by Lord Hood, when he designed to attack the French fleet at their anchorage in Gourjean road. Lord Hood found it impossible to make the attempt; but the thought was not lost upon Nelson, who acknowledged himself, on this occasion, indebted for it to his old and excellent commander. Captain Berry, when he comprehended the scope of the design, exclaimed with transport, "If we succeed, what will the world say!"—"There is no *if* in the case," replied the admiral: "that we shall succeed, is certain: who may live to tell the story, is a very different question."

His tactics.

As the squadron advanced, they were assailed by a shower of shot and shells from the batteries on the island, and the enemy opened a steady fire from the starboard of their whole line, within half-gunshot distance, full into the bows of our van ships. It was received in silence; the men on board every ship were employed aloft in furling sails, and below in tending the braces, and making ready for anchoring. A miserable sight for the French; who, with all their skill, and all their courage, and all their advantages of numbers and situation, were upon that element on which, when the hour of trial comes, a Frenchman has no hope. Admiral Brueys was a brave and able man; yet the indelible character of his country broke out in one of his letters, wherein he delivered it as his private opinion that the English had missed him, because, not being superior in force, they did not think it prudent to try their strength with him.—The moment was now come in which he was to be undeceived.

The enemy opens fire.

A French brig was instructed to decoy the English, by manœuvring so as to tempt them toward a shoal lying off the island of Bequieres; but Nelson either knew the danger, or suspected some deceit; and the lure was unsuccessful. Captain Foley led the way in the *Goliath,* outsailing the *Zealous,* which for some minutes disputed this post of honor with him. He had long conceived that if the enemy

The decoy brig.

were moored in line of battle in with the land, the best plan of attack would be to lead between them and the shore, because the French guns on that side were not likely to be manned, nor even ready for action. Intending, therefore, to fix himself on the inner bow of the *Guerrier,* he kept as near the edge of the bank as the depth of water would admit; but his anchor hung, and having opened his fore, he drifted to the second ship, the *Conquerant,* before it was clear; then anchored by the stern, inside of her, and in ten minutes shot away her mast. Hood, in the *Zealous,* perceiving this, took the station which the *Goliath* intended to have occupied, and totally disabled the *Guerrier* in twelve minutes. The third ship, which doubled the enemy's van, was the *Orion,* Sir J. Saumarez; she passed to windward of the *Zealous,* and opened her larboard guns as long as they bore on the *Guerrier;* then passing inside the *Goliath,* sunk a frigate which annoyed her, hauled round toward the French line, and, anchoring inside, between the fifth and sixth ships from the *Guerrier,* took her station on the larboard bow of the *Franklin,* and the quarter of the *Peuple Souverain,* receiving and returning the fire of both. The sun was now nearly down. The *Audacious,* Captain Gould, pouring a heavy fire into the *Guerrier* and the *Conquerant,* fixed herself on the larboard bow of the latter; and when that ship struck, passed on to the *Peuple Souverain.*

Success of the *Goliath* and *Zealous*

The *Theseus,* Captain Miller, followed, brought down the *Guerrier's* remaining main and mizzen masts, then anchored inside of the *Spartiate,* the third in the French line.

While these advanced ships doubled the French line, the *Vanguard* was the first that anchored on the outer side of the enemy, within half pistol-shot of their third ship, the *Spartiate.* Nelson had six colors flying in different parts of his rigging, lest they should be shot away;—that they should be struck, no British admiral considers as a possibility. He veered half a cable, and instantly opened a tremendous fire; under cover of which the other four ships of his division, the *Minotaur, Bellerophon, Defence,* and *Majestic,* sailed on ahead of the admiral. In a few minutes, every man stationed at the first six guns in the fore part of the *Vanguard's* deck was killed or wounded—these guns were three times cleared. Captain Louis, in the *Minotaur,* anchored next ahead, and took off the fire of the *Aquilon,* the fourth in the enemy's line. The *Bellerophon,* Captain Darby, passed ahead and dropped her stern anchor on the starboard bow of the *Orient,* seventh in line—Brueys' own ship, of one hundred and twenty guns—whose difference in force was in proportion of more than seven to three, and whose weight of ball, from the lower deck alone, exceeded that from the whole broadside of the *Bellerophon.* Captain Peyton, in the *Defence,* took

Nelson opens fire.

Strength of the *Orient.*

his station ahead of the *Minotaur,* and engaged the *Franklin,* the sixth in the line; by which judicious movement the British line remained unbroken. The *Majestic,* Captain Westcott, got entangled with the main rigging of one of the French ships astern of the *Orient,* and suffered dreadfully from that three-decker's fire; but she swung clear, and closely engaging the *Heureux,* the ninth ship on the starboard bow, received also the fire of the *Tonnant,* which was the eighth in the line. The other four ships of the British squadron, having been detached previous to the discovery of the French, were at a considerable distance when the action began. It commenced at half after six; about seven, night closed, and there was no other light than that from the fire of the contending fleets.

Trowbridge, in the *Culloden,* then foremost of the remaining ships, was two leagues astern. He came on sounding, as the others had done: as he advanced, the increasing darkness increased the difficulty of the navigation; and suddenly, after having found eleven fathoms of water, before the lead could be hove again, he was fast aground: nor could all his own exertions, joined to those of the *Leander* and the *Mutine* brig, which came to his assistance, get him off in time to bear a part in the action. His ship, however, served as a beacon to the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure,* which would else, from the course which they were holding,

The *Culloden* fast aground.

have gone considerably further on the reef, and must inevitably have been lost. These ships entered the bay, and took their stations, in the darkness, in a manner long spoken of with admiration by all who remembered it. Captain Hallowell, in the *Swiftsure,* as he was bearing down, fell in with what seemed to be a strange sail: Nelson had directed his ships to hoist four lights horizontally at the mizzen-peak, as soon as it became dark; and this vessel had no such distinction. Hallowell, however, with great judgment, ordered his men not to fire: if she was an enemy, he said, she was in too disabled a state to escape; but, from her sails being loose, and the way in which her head was, it was probable she might be an English ship. It was the *Bellerophon,* overpowered by the huge *Orient:* her lights had gone overboard, nearly 200 of her crew were killed or wounded, all her masts and cables had been shot away; and she was drifting out of the line, toward the lee side of the bay. Her station, at this important time, was occupied by the *Swiftsure,* which opened a steady fire on the quarter of the *Franklin,* and the bows of the French admiral. At the same instant, Captain Ball, with the *Alexander,* passed under his stern, and anchored within side on his larboard quarter, raking him, and keeping up a severe fire of musketry upon his decks. The last ship which arrived to complete the destruction of the enemy was the *Leander.* Cap-

Plight of the *Bellerophon.*

tain Thompson, finding that nothing could be done that night to get off the *Culloden,* advanced with the intention of anchoring athwart-hawse of the *Orient.* The *Franklin* was so near her ahead, that there was not room for him to pass clear of the two; he, therefore, took his station athwart-hawse of the latter, in such a position as to rake both.

The two first ships of the French line had been dismasted within a quarter of an hour after the commencement of the action; and the others had in that time suffered so severely, that victory was already certain. The third, fourth and fifth were taken possession of at half-past eight.

Victory early assured.

Meantime, Nelson received a severe wound on the head from a piece of langridge shot. When the surgeon came, in due time, to examine his wound (for it was in vain to entreat him to let it be examined sooner), the most anxious silence prevailed; and the joy of the wounded men, and of the whole crew, when they heard that the hurt was merely superficial, gave Nelson deeper pleasure than the unexpected assurance that his life was in no danger. The surgeon requested, and as far as he could, ordered him to remain quiet: but Nelson could not rest. He called for his secretary, Mr. Campbell, to write the despatches. Campbell had himself been wounded; and was so affected at the blind and suffering state of the admiral, that he was unable to write.

Nelson wounded.

The chaplain was then sent for; but, before he came, Nelson, with his characteristic eagerness, took the pen, and contrived to trace a few words, marking his devout sense of the success which had already been obtained. He was now left alone; when suddenly a cry was heard on the deck that the *Orient* was on fire. In the confusion, he found his way up, unassisted and unnoticed; and, to the astonishment of every one, appeared on the quarter-deck, where he immediately gave orders that boats should be sent to the relief of the enemy.

The *Orient* on fire.

It was soon after nine that the fire on board the *Orient* broke out. Brueys was dead: he had received three wounds, yet would not leave his post: a fourth cut him almost in two. He desired not to be carried below, but to be left to die upon deck. The flames soon mastered his ship. Her sides had just been painted; and the oil-jars and paint-buckets were lying on the poop. By the prodigious light of this conflagration, the situation of the two fleets could now be perceived, the colors of both being clearly distinguishable. About ten o'clock the ship blew up, with a shock which was felt to the very bottom of every vessel. Many of her officers and men jumped overboard, some clinging to the spars and pieces of wreck, with which the sea was strewn, others swimming to escape from the destruction which they momentarily dreaded. Some were picked up by our boats; and some, even in the heat and

Death of Admiral Brueys.

The *Orient* blows up.

fury of the action, were dragged into the lower ports of the nearest British vessel by the British sailors. The greater part of her crew, however, stood the danger till the last, and continued to fire from the lower deck. This tremendous explosion was followed by a silence not less awful: the firing immediately ceased on both sides; and the first sound which broke the silence was the dash of her shattered masts and yards falling into the water from the vast height to which they had been exploded. It is upon record, that a battle between two armies was once broken off by an earthquake: such an event would be felt like a miracle; but no incident in war, produced by human means, has ever equalled the sublimity of this co-instantaneous pause, and all its circumstances.

The English save some of the crew.

About seventy of the *Orient's* crew were saved by the English boats. Among the many hundreds who perished were the commodore, Casa-Bianca, and his son, a brave boy, only ten years old. They were seen floating on a shattered mast when the ship blew up. She had money on board (the plunder of Malta) to the amount of 600,000*l.* sterling. The masses of burning wreck, which were scattered by the explosion, excited, for some moments, apprehensions in the English which they had never felt from any other danger. Two large pieces fell into the main and fore tops of the *Swiftsure,* without injuring any person. A port

fire also fell into the main-royal of the *Alexander;* the fire which it occasioned was speedily extinguished. Captain Ball had provided, as far as human foresight could provide, against any such danger. All the shrouds and sails of his ship, not absolutely necessary for its immediate management, were thoroughly wetted, and so rolled up, that they were as hard and as little inflammable as so many solid cylinders.

The firing recommenced with the ships to leeward of the centre, and continued until about three. At daybreak, the *Guillaume Tell,* and the *Généreux,* the *two rear* ships of the enemy, were the only French ships of the line which had their colors flying; they cut their cables in the forenoon, not having been engaged, and stood out to sea, and two frigates with them. The *Zealous* pursued; but as there was no other ship in a condition to support Captain Hood, he was recalled. It was generally believed by the officers, that if Nelson had not been wounded, not one of these ships could have escaped: the four certainly could not, if the *Culloden* had got into action; and if the frigates belonging to the squadron had been present, not one of the enemy's fleet would have left Aboukir Bay. These four vessels, however, were all that escaped; and the victory was the most complete and glorious in the annals of naval history. "Victory," said Nelson, "is not a name strong enough for such a scene;" he called it a con-

The action continues.

The great victory.

quest. Of thirteen sail of the line, nine were taken, and two burnt: of the four frigates, one was sunk, another, the *Artemise,* was burnt in a villanous manner by her captain, M. Estandlet, who, having fired a broadside at the *Theseus,* struck his colors, then set fire to the ship, and escaped with most of his crew to shore. The British loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to 895. Westcott was the only captain who fell: 3,105 of the French, including the wounded, were sent on shore by cartel, and 5,225 perished.

The losses.

[In 1799, Great Britain forms a coalition with Austria, Russia, Portugal, Naples, and Turkey, and sends an unsuccessful expedition to Holland. The French suffer many reverses and lose Italy. In Naples, the Society of the Carbonari is formed. Bonaparte is baffled at Acre, and hearing of what is happening in France, hurries home. He overthrows the Directoire and becomes First Consul. The Rosetta Stone, which furnishes the key to the hieroglyphics, is discovered by the French and captured by the English. Humboldt departs on his five years' voyage of discovery in America.]

Bonaparte becomes First Consul.

THE SIEGE OF ACRE

(A.D. 1799)

J. R. MILLER

BUONAPARTE, being separated from France, by the total defeat of the French fleet at Aboukir, exerted himself to secure the affection of the Egyptians by flattering their religious prejudices; by recalling their ancient greatness, and asserting that he wished to restore them to their pristine grandeur; by professions of regard for his ally, the grand seignior; and by pretending that the invasion of Egypt, and the expulsion of the beys, were measures which merited or had obtained his assent. These arts, however, failed to produce the desired effect, and his arms alone could ensure the obedience which he courted, or avert the danger which he dreaded. An insurrection at Cairo had nearly proved fatal to his cause; and some hundreds of the French, including General Dupuis, their commander, were killed before it could be suppressed: a much larger number of the insurgents, of course, perished, and not a few afterward fell by the hands of the executioner; for Buonaparte, wherever he went, treated all

Affairs of Egypt.

who opposed him as traitors and rebels. Various skirmishes and some sharp actions took place between the invaders and the Mamelukes, under the command of the beys, in different parts of the country, particularly in Upper Egypt, in all of which the superior discipline and tactics of the French baffled the rude courage and desultory attacks of their opponents. It could not, however, be supposed that the Porte would leave them in quiet possession of a portion of her territory, or that England would make no effort to wrest it from their hands: Buonaparte was aware that if an army was sent from Europe to attack him on one side, while a Turkish force from Asia assailed him on the other, he might not be able to extricate himself from the difficulties with which he would be surrounded, and he therefore resolved to attack the Turks in the first instance, in the hope of subduing them before they could receive assistance from other quarters. He accordingly made preparations for an expedition against Acre, and sent his train of artillery, destined for the siege, by sea. The army, in four divisions, under the command of Kleber, Bon, Regnier, and Lannes, proceeded to El-Arisch, where an action was fought, in which the French were successful. They then moved forward to Jaffa, anciently called Joppa, a seaport town on the coast of Palestine, which was carried by assault, with great loss, after a vigorous defence. Numbers

Hostility of the beys.

Capture of Jaffa.

of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part having taken refuge in the mosques and implored mercy from the French, their lives were spared.

Being incumbered with nearly four thousand prisoners, from the care and maintenance of which, it is said, Buonaparte found it necessary to relieve himself, he ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa, where volleys of musketry and grapeshot were played upon them by a division of French infantry; and such of the Turks as were not killed by the shot were put to death by the bayonet. The accumulation of unburied bodies occasioned the visitation of the plague, by which a great number of the French soldiers were soon infected, the hospitals crowded, and the medical staff embarrassed. In this crisis Buonaparte found an apothecary who consented to administer poison to the sick. A sufficient quantity of opium was, accordingly, mixed with pleasant food, of which the unsuspecting victims freely partook; and in a few hours five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for the tyrants of their country, thus miserably perished.

Massacre and pestilence.

Buonaparte then marched at the head of his troops for Acre, which at this moment contained within its walls two men, who, with the romantic heroism of the days of chivalry, united all the knowledge appertaining to the modern art of war—Sir W. Sidney Smith, a

Advance on Acre.

British naval officer of distinguished enterprise, and Colonel Phillippeaux, an emigrant officer of engineers. After rescuing his friend, Sir Sidney, from bondage in the Temple, and restoring him to liberty at the hazard of his life, Phillippeaux accompanied him in a small squadron to which he had been appointed, and, after cruising with him in the Levant, had embarked for Syria to afford assistance to the Pacha. On the 30th of March, 1799, the trenches were opened, about one hundred and fifty fathoms from the wall; and soon after the enemy advanced to storm the fortress. It was soon discovered, however, that a ditch of fifteen feet was to be passed, while the counterscarp was almost untouched; and the breach, which was not large, had been effected upward of six feet above the level of the works. Notwithstanding these obstacles, a body of grenadiers descended into the ditch, and attempted to scale the wall; but nothing could be achieved. The garrison was at first seized with terror, and many of the Turkish soldiers ran toward the harbor; but no sooner did they discover that the opening in the wall was several feet above the rubbish, than they returned to the charge, and showered down stones, grenades, and combustibles upon the assailants, who were obliged to retire, after losing two adjutants-general, and a great number of men. This event afforded so much encouragement to the troops of the Pacha, that

Sir Sidney Smith and Phillippeaux.

they made a sally, in which they killed several of the besiegers. In the interim, the English squadron discovered, in the neighborhood of Mount Carmel, a corvette and nine sail of gun-boats, laden with artillery and ammunition, intended to assist in the reduction of Acre, seven of which, containing all the battering train, were captured; and this fortunate incident contributed greatly to save the city. At this period of the siege Ghezzar Oglou, the Pacha, dispersed his firmauns among the Naplouzians, as well as into the towns in the Said, requesting the true believers to rise and overwhelm the infidels. The British squadron, which had been driven from the unsheltered anchorage of St. Jean d'Acre by the equinoxial gales, had no sooner resumed its station than another sortie was determined upon, for the purpose of destroying a mine made by the enemy below the tower. In this operation, the British marines and seamen were to force their way into the mine, while the Turkish troops attacked the enemy's trenches on the right and left. The sally took place just before daylight; and Lieutenant Wright, who commanded the seamen-pioneers, notwithstanding he received two shots in his right arm as he advanced, entered the mine with the pikemen, and proceeded to the bottom of it, where he verified its direction, and destroyed all that could be destroyed in its present state.

Capture of a French squadron.

A successful sortie.

The Samaritan Arabs having made incur-

sions even into the French camp, Buonaparte proceeded against them in person; and he found Kleber's division, consisting of two thousand Frenchmen, who had previously been detached as a corps of observation, fighting at the foot of Mount Tabor, and nearly encircled by a large body of horse, which he obliged to retire behind the mount, where a great number were drowned in the Jordan.

Buonaparte hastened to return to the camp before Acre, and the invaders at length completed the mine destined to destroy the tower, which had so long withstood all their efforts; but, although one of the angles was carried away, the breach remained as difficult of access as before. About this period the garrison sustained the loss of Phillippeaux, who died of a fever, contracted by want of rest, and extraordinary exertion. On the first of May, after many hours' heavy cannonade from thirty pieces of artillery, brought by the enemy from Jaffa, a fourth attempt was made; but the *Tigre,* moored on one side, and the *Theseus* on the other, flanked the town walls; and the gunboats, launches, and other rowboats, continued to flank the enemy's trenches to their great annoyance, till at length they were obliged to desist from the attack. Notwithstanding their various repulses, the enemy continued to batter in the breach with progressive success, and made nine several attempts to storm, but had as often been beaten back. The

Death of Phillippeaux.

garrison had long been in expectation of a reinforcement, under Hassan Bey, who had originally received orders to advance against Alexandria, but was afterward directed to proceed to the relief of Acre: it was not, however, till the fifty-first day of the siege that this fleet made its appearance. The approach of so much additional strength was the signal to Buonaparte for a vigorous assault, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement could disembark; and on the night of the 8th of May he succeeded in making a lodgment in the second story of the northeast tower. Daylight on the ninth showed the French standard unfurled on the outer angle; and at this most critical point of the contest Hassan Bey's troops were still in their boats, not having advanced more than halfway toward the shore. Sir Sidney Smith, whose energy and talents gave effect to every operation, landed the crews of the gunboats on the mole, and marched them to the breach, each man being armed with a pike. A heap of ruins between the besieged and besiegers served as a breastwork for both; the muzzles of the muskets touched, and the spear-heads of the standards locked. Ghezzar Pacha, hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing cartridges with his own hands.

Gallant defence.

Bravery of Ghezzar Pacha.

This energetic old man, coming behind his British allies, pulled them down with violence, saying, "If any harm happen to our English friends, all will be lost." The whole of the reinforcements being now landed, the Pacha, with some difficulty, so far subdued his jealousy as to admit the Chifflick regiment, of one thousand men, into the garden of his seraglio, from whence a vigorous sally was made with an intention to obtain possession of the enemy's third parallel, or nearest trench; but the Turks, unequal to such a movement, were driven back into the town with loss; and, although the sortie did not succeed, it had the effect of obliging the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, and the flanking fire of the garrison, aided by a few hand-grenades, dislodged them from the tower. Determined to persevere, the enemy effected a new breach by an incessant fire directed to the southward, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall, much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. At the suggestion of the Pacha the breach was not this time defended, but a certain number of the enemy was let in, and then closed upon, according to the Turkish mode of war, when a sabre in one hand and a dagger in the other, proving more than a match for the bayonets, the survivors hastened to sound a retreat. Thus ended a contest, continued with little intermis-

Turkish tactics.

sion for five-and-twenty hours; and in which nature, sinking under the exertion, demanded repose.

Buonaparte is discouraged.

Chagrin began to be visible in the conduct of Buonaparte, who, for the first time in his life, beheld himself foiled, and that, too, by a town scarcely defensible according to the rules of art; while the surrounding hills were crowded with spectators, awaiting the result of the contest, to declare for the victor. The plague also found its way into the French camp, and seven hundred men had already fallen martyrs to that terrible malady. In this deplorable situation, the French commander-in-chief determined to make a last effort, and General Kleber's division was recalled from the fords of Jordan, to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division in succession had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and about three-fourths of their officers. Before this reinforcement could commence its operations, another sally was made on the night of the 10th of May by the Turks, who succeeded in making themselves masters of the enemy's third parallel, and advanced to the second trench; but, after a conflict of three hours, they were driven back, leaving everything *in statu quo,* except the loss of men, which was considerable on both sides.

Determined, at length, to raise the siege, Buonaparte first ordered his sick and wounded

to be sent away, and, to keep the besieged in check, increased the fire of his cannon and mortars. Ghezzar, remarking these dispositions for retreat, made frequent sallies, which were repulsed with vigor. The aspect of the field of carnage was horrible: the ditches and the reverses of the parapets were filled with the slain; the air was infected, and the proposition for a suspension of arms to bury the dead remained unanswered. After sixty days' continuance, Buonaparte, in a proclamation, announced to his army the raising of the siege, and resolved to return to Egypt, to defend its approach in the season of landing against the force assembled at Rhodes. On the 20th of May, the very day on which the army began its march, General Le Grange repulsed two sallies, and forced the Turks back into the town. General Lannes' division led the march; Regnier's evacuated the trenches; Kleber formed a strong rearguard; while Junot covered the left flank. Buonaparte threw into the sea the artillery which he could not carry back through the desert; and his battering train, amounting to twenty-three pieces, fell into the hands of the English. After blowing up the fortifications of Jaffa and Gaza, and inflicting a terrible vengeance on those who had defended their country against the invaders, the French passed over the desert, and were received by the inhabitants of Cairo, ignorant of recent events, as victors.

He determines to raise the siege.

He abandons his artillery.

Buonaparte, ruminating on his repulse at Acre, where he had, for the first time, experienced defeat and disgrace, resolved to repair to a country more congenial with his disposition and pursuits. This resolution to abandon his post, and to desert those gallant men who had braved every danger at his command, was only equalled by the mode in which it was accomplished. Leaving a sealed packet addressed to General Kleber, nominating that officer to the command of the army in Egypt during his absence, he embarked suddenly, on the 24th of August, with Generals Berthier, Lannes, Murat, and Andreossi, accompanied by Monge, Beutholet, and Arnaud, members of the Egyptian Institute, and attended by several Mamelukes, the future guards of his person. He communicated his design to none but those whom he intended to accompany him; and he left the army in a deplorable state. He was a deserter, too, in every sense of the word; for he quitted his command without orders, and even without permission. That singular good fortune, however, to which he was so often indebted, attended him on this occasion; for, after repeatedly escaping the vigilance of the English cruisers, he landed, first at Ajaccio, and then at Frejus; and on his arrival at Paris, on the 16th of October, he was courted by all parties, and invited by the Directory to a grand festival.

Buonaparte returns to France.

THE FIRST CONSUL

(A.D. 1799)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

DURING his absence of seventeen months (May 9, 1798—October 8, 1799), the Directory had fallen into disgrace with the French people. Austria, with the aid of Suwarrow and his Russians, had recovered Italy. French soldiers had been defeated on the Rhine. And the money matters of the country were sadly behind.

Weakness of the Directory.

All eyes turned to Bonaparte, who resolved on a change. Abbé Sieyès one of the Directors, had sketched out a new Constitution, and it remained for Bonaparte and his grenadiers to overthrow the old state of things and lay the foundation of the new. The two Councils were removed to St. Cloud, lest they might be overawed by the mob of Paris. Bonaparte appeared one day among them, passed from the Hall of the Ancients to that of the Five Hundred, and when in the latter, the cry of "No Dictator" rose from the angry members, who crowded noisily round him, a file of soldiers rushed in to save him. His brother,

Bonaparte overthrows it.

Lucien, who was president, left the chair, and proclaimed the Assembly dissolved. Murat then led through the Hall a band of grenadiers, with drums beating and bayonets at the charge, clearing out the members, some of whom tumbled with undignified haste out of the windows. Then the government of France was placed in the hands of three Consuls, appointed for ten years. Bonaparte was First Consul, and held all real power, his colleagues, Sieyès and Ducos, being mere assistants and advisers. These two inferior Consuls soon gave place to Cambacères and Lebrun. The law-making was done according to the new plan, by the Consuls, a Senate of 80, a Legislative Assembly of 300, and a Tribunate of 100 members.

The First Consul.

The First Consul then began to act the king. He wrote a letter to George III. of England proposing peace, but the offer was rejected in a strongly worded reply from Grenville. Already he had detached Russia from the coalition of nations against whom he had to contend. At home he bent all his energies to the raising of troops, and a quarter of a million conscripts were soon marshalled beneath his banner. He gagged the press. He put down the civil war in La Vendée. He filled France with detectives, whose vigilance covered the land with an unseen network of espionage. And, well aware of the national taste for show, he gathered into the ball-rooms of the Tuile-

ries crowds of handsome soldiers gay with scarlet and gold, and lovely women, whose toilettes rivalled in taste and splendor the fashions of the later Bourbon dames.

Resolved again to humiliate Austria on the plains of Lombardy, he signalized the last spring of the century by his famous passage of the Alps. With 36,000 men, and 40 cannon, he climbed the Great St. Bernard, his soldiers dragging the dismounted guns up the icy slopes in the hollow trunks of trees. Like an avalanche he poured his troops upon the green plain below. On the 2d of June he entered Milan in triumph, and met the wings of his army, which had crossed by the Simplon and the St. Gothard. A fortnight later, he met old Melas, the Austrian leader, on the plain of Marengo near Alessandria. The French army, outnumbered three to one, was driven back and all but beaten, until the gallant Desaix flung himself with the last reserve upon the Austrian column and broke it to pieces. The leader of the charge, to whom not long before Bonaparte had presented a sword engraven with the proud words, *"Conquête de la Haute Egypte,"* fell dead from his horse, shot through the breast in the moment of victory. The Austrians were soon driven beyond the Adige and the Brenta. In the same year (November 3) Moreau, who had been sent to the Rhine, defeated the Austrians at Hohenlinden. These successes were fol-

Passage of the Alps.

Battle of Marengo.

lowed by the Treaty of Luneville, concluded between Austria and France. The leading terms of this peace were similar to those of Campo Formio.

Ere this Christianity had been re-established in France; and the people gladly welcomed the old familiar chime of the church-bells, ringing in the seventh day's rest. Now a general amnesty was granted to all emigrants, who would take an oath of allegiance to the new government before a certain date, and about 100,000 exiles turned their weary feet toward home. Wherever it was possible, these returning wanderers got back their old estates. The "Legion of Honor" was instituted for both soldiers and civilians. England was the power most dreaded by Bonaparte; and he well knew that her navy was her highest glory and greatest strength. He worked in the northern courts until he united Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and afterward Prussia, in a formidable league against England and her ships. But Nelson, sailing into the harbor of Copenhagen in the face of 2,000 cannon, crushed the naval power of Denmark in four hours (April 2, 1801). And, a few days earlier, the Emperor Paul of Russia was strangled by conspirators. So the giant league melted into nothing. At the same time British bayonets, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, scattered the last relics of the army which Bonaparte had abandoned in Egypt. These disap-

Return of the emigres

pointments and reverses made the First Consul wish for peace. At Amiens this short-lived peace was signed. France retained Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, and got back her West Indian islands. Holland received once more the Cape of Good Hope. England kept Ceylon. But Napoleon never meant peace; all he intended was a short breathing time, that he might take an important step at home, and gird himself for a more brilliant career of victory abroad.

Peace of Amiens.

All France was wild with delight at the dazzling glory of the First Consul's victories, and the kindness of his rule. When the enthusiasm had reached the boiling point, a decree of the Senate appeared, proclaiming Bonaparte First Consul for life. The votes of the people all over the land ratified the change.

One work he did at this time, which half redeems his memory, in France at least, from the red cloud that blurs its glory. He set a number of his best lawyers, with Cambacères at their head, to arrange the laws of his adopted land. Six distinct codes, published at various times, are loosely grouped together as the Code Napoléon. Of these, the Civil Code is undoubtedly the best; and France still enjoys the valued legacy. In the schools instruction took, as might be expected, an almost exclusively military turn. Latin, mathematics, and drill were the great aims of the

The Code Napoleon.

teacher's work. The First Consul laughed metaphysics and kindred studies to utter scorn. No better proof to him of time well spent at school than the ability to fence with skill, to point a gun, or sketch out the map of a position.

Renewed war with England.

Then, with studied insults, he drove England again into war. In May, 1803, the British Government seized all French vessels in British harbors,—an act which Napoleon retaliated by throwing into prison all Englishmen found travelling in France. French soldiers then rapidly overran Hanover, and prepared to invade Naples. At the same time, the First Consul began to muster his legions and fleets for the invasion of England. This was his grandest design; but he never was able to cross the narrow strait. With 160,000 bluejackets standing by her guns at sea, and double that number of redcoats lining her southern shores, Britain stood on her guard. The whole scheme vanished into nothing. Eighteen hundred years before, a mad Emperor of Rome had set his legions to pick shells on that same low beach, where the "Army of England" lay encamped, and had then celebrated his conquest of the white-cliffed island by a splendid triumph at Rome. Bonaparte could not stoop to folly like this. But he turned away in fear; and, leaving his flat-bottomed boats at Boulogne, he marched his soldiers toward the Danube.

But before he won there his greatest victory, he had perpetrated his greatest crime and reached his highest eminence. A plot against his life was detected by his sleepless police. Two generals, Pichegru and Moreau, were involved in the affair. While Pichegru lay in prison, he was found strangled; Moreau went into exile. But an innocent man fell a victim to a vague suspicion of the same kind. His true crime was only that he was a Bourbon. Seized in Baden, the young Duke d'Enghien was hurried to the castle of Vincennes. There, after a mock trial, he was shot by torchlight in the darkness of a wild March morning, and buried as he lay, in his bloody and bullet-torn clothes (March 21). Within two months the First Consul was declared, by the Senate and the Tribunate, Emperor of the French. The votes of the people being taken, only about 4,000 names were registered against his elevation. He was too impatient to wait for the collection of the votes. On the 18th of May he assumed the imperial name at St. Cloud, and on the following day he created eighteen of his best generals Marshals of the Empire. The Pope, Pius VII., was invited to Paris to crown the newly elected Emperor. At Notre Dame, on the 2d of December, the ceremony of coronation was performed. The Pope blessed the crown, and Napoleon, taking it from the altar, placed it on his own head. He then crowned Josephine as Empress.

Execution of D'Enghien.

The Empire.

The republics of Italy were then all merged into a kingdom, of which Bonaparte was invited to become king. It pleased him well. Indeed, he must have foreseen and worked toward this ancient end of French ambition. In the cathedral of Milan (May 26, 1805), he assumed the iron crown of Lombardy, saying, as he placed the rusty rim upon his temples, "God has given it to me; woe to him who shall attempt to lay hands on it!" He then named Eugene Beauharnais, his stepson, as his viceroy in Italy.

Bonaparte King of Italy.

[In 1800, Kleber, whom Napoleon had left in command in Egypt, is assassinated. In 1801, the Northern Confederation of Sweden, Denmark, and Russia is formed. Great Britain regards it as a declaration of war, seizes the Danish and Swedish West India islands and bombards Copenhagen. The Czar Paul is assassinated, and his son is conciliatory toward Great Britain. Portugal declares war against Spain, and after defeat gives up half Guiana to France and shuts its ports against Great Britain. Toussaint l'Ouverture is made life president of Hayti; proclaims independence and expels the French. Abercromby defeats the French outside Alexandria: they agree to evacuate, and Egypt is restored to Turkey.]

Toussaint expels the French.

THE INVENTION OF THE STEAMBOAT

(A.D. 1801—1807)

JAMES RENWICK

FULTON remained for two years in the neighborhood of Exeter, where his intelligence and ability obtained for him many useful and interesting acquaintances. Among these the most important were the Duke of Bridgewater and Earl Stanhope. The first of these noblemen fills a large space in the history of the internal improvements of Great Britain; and he was, in fact, the father of the vast system of inland navigation which has spread its ramifications over every accessible part of that island. With Earl Stanhope, Fulton's intercourse was still more intimate, and probably of an earlier date. This nobleman was endowed by nature with high mechanical talent. Had he been impelled by the stimulus of necessity, there is little doubt that he might have become distinguished as a successful inventor. As it was, he exhibited practical skill as a canal engineer; but here his reputation faded before the prior claims of the Duke of Bridgewater; while his inven-

Fulton's friendship with English inventors.

Earl Stanhope's friendship.

tions remained incomplete, and few of them have been carried into effect. Among other projects, this peer entertained the hope of being able to apply the steam engine to navigation, by the aid of a peculiar apparatus modelled after the foot of an aquatic fowl. On communicating this plan to Fulton, the latter saw reason to doubt its feasibility; and, in consequence, addressed a letter to his Lordship, in which the very views were suggested that were afterward successful upon the Hudson. This letter was written in 1793, immediately before the removal of Fulton from Devonshire to Birmingham.

Fulton becomes intimate with James Watt.

Fulton's residence in Birmingham brought him into communication with Watt, who had just succeeded in giving to his steam engine that perfect form which fits it for universal application as a prime mover. That Fulton became intimately acquainted, not only with Watt himself, but with the structure of his engine, we learn from two facts in his subsequent life; for we find him entering into a confidential correspondence with that great improver of the application of steam, and actually superintending the construction of an engine, in a place where no aid was to be obtained.

Until Watt had completed the structure of the double-acting condensing engine, the application of steam to any but the single object of pumping water, had been almost imprac-

ticable. It was not enough, in order to render it applicable to general purposes, that the condensation of the water should take place in a separate vessel, and that steam should itself be used, instead of atmospheric pressure, as the moving power; but it was also necessary that the steam should act as well during the ascent as during the descent of the piston. Watt's improvements

Ere the method of paddle-wheels could be successfully introduced, it was in addition necessary that a ready and convenient mode of changing the motion of the piston into one continuous and rotary should be discovered. All these improvements upon the original form of the steam engine are due to Watt, and he did not complete their perfect combination before the year 1786.

No sooner had that illustrious inventor completed his double-acting engine, than he saw, at a glance, the vast field of its application. Navigation and locomotion were not omitted; but, living in an inland town, and in a country possessing no rivers of importance, his views were limited to canals alone. In this direction he saw an immediate objection to the use of any apparatus of which so powerful an agent as his engine should be the mover; for it was clear that the injury which would be done to the banks of the canal would prevent the possibility of its introduction. Watt, therefore, after having conceived the idea of Local limitations.

a steamboat, laid it aside, as unlikely to be of any practical value.

The idea of applying steam to navigation was not confined to Europe. Numerous Americans entertained hopes of attaining the same object; but, before 1786, with the same want of any reasonable hopes of success. Their fruitless projects were, however, rebuked by Franklin; who, reasoning upon the capabilities of the engine in its original form, did not hesitate to declare all their schemes impracticable; and the correctness of his judgment is at present unquestionable.

Franklin's judgment.

Among those who, before the completion of Watt's invention, attempted the construction of steamboats,* must be named, with praise, Fitch

* In the first volume of Navarrete's *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos*, etc., published at Madrid, in 1825, there is a remarkable statement, in which the invention of the steamboat is ascribed to a Spaniard three hundred years ago. The particulars were derived from the public archives at Simáncas. The following is a translation of a part of this statement:

"Blasco de Garay, a sea-captain, exhibited to the Emperor and King, Charles the Fifth, in the year 1543, an engine by which ships and vessels of the larger size could be propelled, even in a calm, without the aid of oars or sails. Notwithstanding the opposition which this project encountered, the Emperor resolved that an experiment should be made, as in fact it was, with success, in the harbor of Barcelona on the 17th of June, 1543.

"Garay never publicly exposed the construction of his engine; but it was observed at the time of the experiment that it consisted of a large caldron or vessel of boiling water, and a movable wheel attached to each side of the ship. The experiment was made on a ship of two hundred tons, arrived from Colibre to discharge a cargo of wheat at Barcelona; it was called the *Trinity*, and the captain's name was Peter de Scarza.

"By order of Charles the Fifth, and the Prince, Philip the Second, his son, there were present at the time, Henry de

and Rumsey. They, unlike those whose names have been cited, were well aware of the real difficulties which they were to overcome; and both were the authors of plans which, if the engine had been incapable of further improvement, might have had a partial and limited success. Fitch's trial was made in 1783, and Rumsey's in 1787. The latter is subsequent to Watt's double-acting engine; but, as the project consisted merely in pumping in water, to be afterward forced out at the stern, the single-acting engine was probably employed. Evans, whose engine might have answered the purpose, was employed in the daily business of a millwright; and, although he might, at any time, have driven these competitors from

Early inventors of steamboats.

Toledo, the governor Peter Cardona, the treasurer Ravago, the vice-chancellor Francis Gralla, and many other persons of rank, both Castilians and Catalonians; and, among others, several sea-captains witnessed the operation, some in the vessel, and others on the shore. The Emperor and Prince, and others with them, applauded the engine, and especially the expertness with which the ship could be tacked. The treasurer, Ravago, an enemy to the project, said it would move two leagues in three hours. It was very complicated and expensive, and exposed to the constant danger of bursting the boiler. The other commissioners affirmed that the vessel could be tacked twice as quick as a galley served by the common method, and that, at its slowest rate, it would move a league in an hour. The exhibition finished, Garay took from the ship his engine, and having deposited the woodwork in the arsenal of Barcelona, kept the rest himself.

"Notwithstanding the difficulties and opposition thrown in the way by Ravago, the invention was approved; and if the expedition in which Charles the Fifth was then engaged had not failed, it would undoubtedly have been favored by him. As it was, he raised Garay to a higher station, gave him a sum of money (200,000 maravedies) as a present, ordered all the expenses of the experiment to be paid out of the general treasury, and conferred upon him other rewards."

the field, took no steps to apply his dormant invention.

Fitch and Rumsey.

Fitch, who had watched the graceful and rapid way of the Indian pirogue, saw in the oscillating motion of the old pumping-engine the means of impelling paddles, in a manner similar to that given them by the human arm. This idea is extremely ingenious, and was applied in a simple and beautiful manner; but the engine was yet too feeble and cumbrous to yield an adequate force; and, when it received its great improvement from Watt, a more efficient mode of propulsion became practicable, and must have superseded Fitch's paddles, had they even come into general use.

In the latter stages of Fitch's investigations, he became aware of the value of Watt's double-acting engine, and refers to it as a valuable addition to his means of success; but it does not appear to have occurred to him that, with this improved power, methods of far greater efficiency than those to which he had been limited before this invention was completed had now become practicable.

Miller and Symington.

When the properties of Watt's double-acting engine became known to the public, an immediate attempt was made to apply it to navigation. This was done by Miller, of Dalswinton, who employed Symington as his engineer. Miller seems to have been the real author; for, as early as 1787, he published his belief that boats might be propelled by

employing a steam engine to turn paddle-wheels. It was not until 1791 that Symington completed a model for him, of a size sufficient for a satisfactory experiment. If we may credit the evidence, which has since been adduced, the experiment was as successful as the first attempts of Fulton; but it did not give to the inventor that degree of confidence which was necessary to induce him to embark his fortune in the enterprise. The experiment of Miller was, therefore, ranked by the public among unsuccessful enterprises, and was rather calculated to deter from imitation than to encourage others to pursue the same path.

Symington's successful model.

Symington, at a subsequent period, resumed the plans of Miller, and, by the aid of funds furnished by Lord Dundas, put a boat in motion on the Forth and Clyde canal in 1801.

The experiments of Fitch and Rumsey in the United States, although generally considered as unsuccessful, did not deter others from similar attempts. The great rivers and arms of the sea, which intersect the Atlantic coast, and, still more, the innumerable navigable arms of the Father of Waters, appeared to call upon the ingenious machinist to contrive means for their more convenient navigation.

Further attempts at steam navigation in the United States.

The improvement of the engine by Watt was now familiarly known; and it was evident that it possessed sufficient powers for the purpose. The only difficulty which existed was in the mode of applying it. The first person

John Stevens of Hoboken

who entered into the inquiry was John Stevens, of Hoboken, who commenced his researches in 1791. In these he was steadily engaged for nine years, when he became the associate of Chancellor Livingston and Nicholas Roosevelt. A grant of exclusive privileges on the waters of the State of New York was made to this association without any difficulty, it being believed that the scheme was little short of madness.

Livingston, on his arrival in France, found Fulton domiciliated with Joel Barlow. The conformity in their pursuits led to intimacy, and Fulton speedily communicated to Livingston the scheme which he had laid before Earl Stanhope, in 1793. Livingston was so well pleased with it, that he at once offered to provide the funds necessary for an experiment, and to enter into a contract for Fulton's aid in introducing the method into the United States, provided the experiment was successful.

Livingston offers to provide funds.

Fulton had, in his early discussion with Lord Stanhope, repudiated the idea of an apparatus acting on the principle of the foot of an aquatic bird, and had proposed paddle-wheels in its stead. On resuming his inquiries, after his arrangements with Livingston, it occurred to him to compose wheels with a set of paddles revolving upon an endless chain, extending from the stem to the stern of the boat. It is probable that the apparent want of success which had attended the ex-

periments of Symington led him to doubt the correctness of his own original views.

That such doubt should be entirely removed, he had recourse to a series of experiments upon a small scale. These were performed at Plombières, a French watering-place, where he spent the summer of 1802. In these experiments, the superiority of the paddle-wheel over every other method of propulsion that had yet been proposed was fully established. His original impressions being thus confirmed, he proceeded late in the year 1803 to construct a working model of his intended boat, which model was deposited with a commission of French savans. He at the same time commenced building a vessel sixty-six feet in length and eight feet in width. To this an engine was adapted; and the experiment made with it was so satisfactory as to leave little doubt of final success.

Experiments at Plombieres in 1802.

Measures were therefore immediately taken to construct a steamboat on a large scale in the United States. For this purpose, as the workshops of neither France nor America could at that time furnish an engine of good quality, it became necessary to resort to England. Fulton had already experienced the difficulty of being compelled to employ artists unacquainted with the subject. It is, indeed, more than probable that, had he not, during his residence in Birmingham, made himself familiar not only with the general

features but with the most minute details of the engine of Watt, the experiment on the Seine could not have been made. In this experiment, and in the previous investigations, it became obvious that the engine of Watt required important modifications in order to adapt it to navigation. These modifications had been planned by Fulton; but it now became important that they should be more fully tested. An engine was therefore ordered from Boulton & Watt, without any specification of the object to which it was to be applied; and its form was directed to be varied from their usual models, in conformity to sketches furnished by Fulton.

Modifications necessary.

The order for an engine, intended to propel a vessel of large size, was transmitted to Boulton & Watt in 1803. Much about the same time, Chancellor Livingston, having full confidence in the success of the enterprise, caused an application to be made to the Legislature of New York, for an exclusive privilege of navigating the waters of that State by steam, that granted on a former occasion having expired.

Renewal of exclusive privileges.

This was granted with little opposition. Indeed, those who might have been inclined to object, saw so much of the impracticable, and even of the ridiculous, in the project, that they conceived the application unworthy of serious debate. The condition attached to the grant was, that a vessel should be propelled by

steam, at the rate of four miles an hour, within a prescribed space of time.

Fulton visits England.

Before the engine ordered from Boulton & Watt was completed, Fulton visited England. Although the visit was ineffectual, so far as his project of torpedoes was concerned, it gave him the opportunity of visiting Birmingham, and directing, in person, the construction of the engine ordered from Boulton & Watt. It could only have been at this time, if ever, that he saw the boat of Symington; but a view of it could have produced no effect upon his own plans, which had been matured in France, and carried out, so far as the engine was concerned, as to admit of no alteration.

Returns to the United States.

The engine was at last completed and reached New York in 1806. Fulton, who returned to his native country about the same period, immediately undertook the construction of a boat in which to place it. In the ordering of this engine, and in planning the boat, Fulton exhibited plainly how far his scientific researches and practical experiments had placed him before all his competitors. He had evidently ascertained, what each successive year's experience proves more fully, the great advantages possessed by large steamboats over those of smaller size; and thus, while all previous attempts were made in small vessels, he alone resolved to make his final experiment in one of great dimensions.* That a vessel

* This was written in 1838.

intended to be propelled by steam ought to have very different proportions and lines of a character wholly distinct from those of vessels intended to be navigated by sails was evident to him. No other theory, however, of the resistance of fluids was admitted at the time than that of Bossut, and there were no published experiments except those of the British Society of Arts. Judged in reference to these, the model chosen by Fulton was faultless, although it will not stand the test of an examination founded upon a better theory and more accurate experiments.

First steamboat built and tried.

The vessel was finished and fitted with her machinery in August, 1807. An experimental excursion was forthwith made, at which a number of gentlemen of science and intelligence were present. Many of these were either sceptical or absolute unbelievers. But a few minutes served to convert the whole party, and satisfy the most obstinate doubters, that the long-desired object was at last accomplished. Only a few weeks before, the cost of constructing and finishing the vessel threatening to exceed the funds with which he had been provided by Livingston; he had attempted to obtain a supply by the sale of one-third of the exclusive right granted by the State of New York. No person was found possessed of faith requisite to induce him to embark in the project. Those who had rejected this opportunity of investment were now the

witnesses of the scheme which they had considered as an inadequate security for the desired funds.

Within a few days from the time of the first experiment with the steamboat, a voyage was undertaken in it to Albany. This city, situated at the natural head of the navigation of the Hudson, is distant, by the line of the channel of the river, rather less than one hundred and fifty miles from New York. By the old post road, the distance is one hundred and sixty miles, at which that by water is usually estimated. Although the greater part of the channel of the Hudson is both deep and wide, yet, for about fourteen miles below Albany, this character is not preserved, and the stream, confined within comparatively small limits, is obstructed by bars of sand, or spreads itself over shallows. In a few remarkable instances, the sloops which then exclusively navigated the Hudson had effected a passage in about sixteen hours, but a whole week was not infrequently employed in this voyage, and the average time of passage was not less than four entire days. In Fulton's first attempt to navigate this stream, the passage to Albany was performed in thirty-two hours, and the return in thirty.

First voyage to Albany.

[In 1802, Toussaint is kidnapped and taken to France. In 1803, Napoleon sells Louisiana to the United States for fifteen million dollars.

The United States purchases Louisiana.

Spain declares war against Great Britain.

The Dutch lose British Guiana and the British also capture Tobago and St. Lucia from France. Spain is forced by Napoleon to declare war against Great Britain. In 1805, Prussia receives Hanover and promises to exclude the British marine from her harbors.]

THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR

(A.D. 1805)

CHARLES ALAN FYFFE

EVENTS had occurred at sea which frustrated Napoleon's plan for an attack upon Great Britain. This attack, which in 1797 had been but lightly threatened, had, upon the renewal of war with England in 1803, become the object of Napoleon's most serious efforts. An army was concentrated at Boulogne sufficient to overwhelm the military forces of England, if once it could reach the opposite shore. Napoleon's thoughts were centred on a plan for obtaining the naval superiority in the Channel, if only for the few hours which it would take to transport the army from Boulogne to the English coast. It was his design to lure Nelson to the other side of the Atlantic by a feigned expedition against the West Indies, and, during the absence of the English admiral, to unite all the fleets at present lying blockaded in the French ports, as a cover for the invading armament. Admiral Villeneuve was ordered to sail for Martinique, and, after there meeting with some other ships, to re-cross the Atlantic with

Failure of Napoleon's naval designs.

Villeneuve's orders.

all possible speed, and liberate the fleets blockaded in Ferrol, Brest, and Rochefort. The junction of the fleets would give Napoleon a force of fifty sail in the British Channel, a force more than sufficient to overpower all the squadrons which Great Britain could possibly collect for the defence of its shores. Such a design exhibited all the power of combination which marked Napoleon's greatest triumphs; but it required of an indifferent marine the precision and swiftness of movement which belonged to the land-forces of France; it assumed in the seamen of Great Britain the same absence of resource which Napoleon had found among the soldiers of the Continent. In the present instance, however, Napoleon had to deal with a man as far superior to all the admirals of France as Napoleon himself was to the generals of Austria and Prussia. Villeneuve set sail for the West Indies in the spring of 1805, and succeeded in drawing Nelson after him; but before he could re-cross the Atlantic, Nelson, incessantly pursuing the French squadron in the West Indian seas, and at length discovering its departure homeward, at Antigua (June 13), had warned the English Government of Villeneuve's movement by a message sent in the swiftest of the English brigs, since no possible effort could have brought the fleet itself up with Villeneuve, who was sixteen days in advance. The government, within twenty-four hours of receiving

Nelson pursues Villeneuve.

Nelson's message, sent orders to Sir Robert Calder instantly to raise the blockades of Ferrol and Rochefort, and to wait for Villeneuve off Cape Finisterre. Here Villeneuve met the English fleet (July 22). He was worsted in a partial engagement, and retired into the harbor of Ferrol. The pressing orders of Napoleon forced the French admiral, after some delay, to attempt that movement on Brest and Rochefort on which the whole plan of the invasion of England depended. But Villeneuve was no longer in a condition to meet the English force assembled against him. He put back without fighting, and retired to Cadiz. All hope of carrying out the attack upon England was irretrievably lost.

Villeneuve's partial defeat.

It only remained for Napoleon to avenge himself upon Austria through the army which was balked of its English prey. On the 1st of September, when the Austrians were now on the point of crossing the Inn, the camp of Boulogne was broken up. The army turned eastward, and distributed itself over all the roads leading from the Channel to the Rhine and the Upper Danube. For on the northeast the army of Hanover, commanded by Bernadotte, moved as its left wing, and converged upon a point in Southern Germany half-way between the frontiers of France and Austria. In the fables that long disguised the true character of every action of Napoleon, the admirable order of march now given to the

Napoleon marches on Austria.

March of French armies on Bavaria, September, 1805.

French armies appears as the inspiration of a moment, due to the rebound of Napoleon's genius after learning the frustration of all his naval plans. In reality, the employment of the "Army of England" against a Continental coalition had always been an alternative present to Napoleon's mind; and it was threateningly mentioned in his letters at a time when Villeneuve's failure was still unknown.

Austrians invade Bavaria.

The only advantage which the Allies derived from the remoteness of the Channel army was that Austria was able to occupy Bavaria without resistance. Its army, commanded by General Mack, crossed the Inn on the 8th of September. The Elector of Bavaria was known to be secretly hostile to the coalition. The design of preventing his union with the French was a correct one; but in the actual situation of the allied armies it was one that could not be executed without running great risks. The preparations of Russia required more time than was allowed for them; no Russian troops could reach the Inn before the end of October; and, with an ill-timed generosity,

Mack's reduced force.

Mack had reduced his own force below its intended strength, in order to improve the army which his rival, the Archduke Charles, led into Italy. The consequence was that the entire Austrian force operating in Western Germany did not exceed seventy thousand men. Any doubts, however, as to the prudence of an advance through Bavaria were

silenced by the assurance that Napoleon had nothing nearer than Hanover and the British Channel. In total ignorance of the real movements of the French armies, Mack pushed on to the western limit of Bavaria, and reached the river Iller, the border of Würtemberg, where he intended to wait for the Russians, who were to accompany his further march into France.

Ignorance of French movements

Here, in the first days of October, a strange rumor reached him of the presence of French troops on the Danube, to the east of his own position. With some misgiving as to the situation of the enemy, Mack began to concentrate his own scattered forces at Ulm. Another week revealed the true situation of affairs. Before the Allies were aware that Napoleon had left Paris, before it had dawned upon Mack that any resistance would be made to him on the east of the Rhine, the vanguard of the Army of the Channel and the Army of Hanover had crossed Northwestern Germany, and seized the roads by which Mack had advanced from Vienna. Every hour that Mack remained in Ulm brought new divisions of the French into the Bavarian towns and villages behind him. Escape was only possible by a retreat into the Tyrol, or by breaking through the French line while it was yet incompletely formed. Resolute action might still have saved the Austrian army; but the only energy that was shown was

Mack at Ulm, October, 1805.

Escape of the Archduke Ferdinand

displayed in opposition to the General. The Archduke Ferdinand cut his way through the French with part of the cavalry; Mack remained in Ulm, and the iron circle closed around him. At the last moment, after the hopelessness of the situation had become clear even to himself, Mack was seized by an illusion that some great disaster had befallen the French in their rear, and that in the course of a few days Napoleon would be in full retreat. "Let no man utter the word 'Surrender' "—he proclaimed in a general order of October 15th;—"the enemy is in the most fearful straits; it is impossible that he can continue more than a few days in the neighborhood. If provisions run short, we have three thousand horses to nourish us. I myself," continued the general, "will be the first to eat horseflesh." Two days later the inevitable capitulation took place; and Mack, with 25,000 men, fell into the hands of the enemy without striking a blow. The hallucinations of this unlucky pedant would deserve no notice in history but for the light which they throw upon the qualities which in Austria were capable of passing for genius. Down to the campaign of 1805, Mack, in spite of his fatuities in Italy in 1799, had passed for a general of the first order. Such was his reputation at Vienna that Pitt himself had pressed the Emperor to make the gifted man commander-in-chief. Mack was brought to trial

Capitulation of Ulm.

after the capitulation of Ulm, and sentenced by a court-martial to imprisonment and degradation; but, after some years, compunctions visited his colleagues, and he was restored to his rank and his honors. Mack's rehabilitation could not affect the judgment passed by Europe upon the campaign of 1805: it was a perfectly truthful confession that there were as many Macks as there were great officers in the Austrian service. Mack's disgrace.

All France read with wonder Napoleon's bulletins describing the bloodless capture of an entire army, and the approaching presentation of forty Austrian standards to the Senate at Paris. No imperial rhetoric acquainted the nation with an event which, within four days of the capitulation of Ulm, inflicted a heavier blow on France than Napoleon himself had ever dealt to any adversary. On the 21st of October, Nelson's crowning victory of Trafalgar, won over Villeneuve venturing out from Cadiz, annihilated the combined fleets of France and Spain. Nelson fell in the moment of his triumph; but the work which his last hours had achieved was one to which years prolonged in glory could have added nothing. He had made an end of the power of France upon the sea. Trafalgar was not only the greatest naval victory, it was the greatest and most momentous victory won either by land or by sea during the whole of the Revolutionary War. No victory, and no series of victories, Trafalgar, October, 21.

of Napoleon produced the same effect upon Europe. Austria was in arms within five years of Marengo, and within four years of Austerlitz; Prussia was ready to retrieve the losses of Jena in 1813; a generation passed after Trafalgar before France again seriously threatened England at sea. The prospect of crushing the British navy, so long as England had the means to equip a navy, vanished: Napoleon henceforth set his hopes on exhausting England's resources by compelling every State on the Continent to exclude her commerce. Trafalgar forced him to impose his yoke upon all Europe, or to abandon the hope of conquering Great Britain. If national love and pride have idealized in our great sailor a character which, with its Homeric force and freshness, combined something of the violence and the self-love of the heroes of a rude age, the common estimate of Nelson's work in history is not beyond the truth. So long as France possessed a navy, Nelson sustained the spirit of England by his victories; his last triumph left England in such a position that no means remained to injure her but those which must result in the ultimate deliverance of the Continent.

Effects of the victory.

THE GREAT TRIUMPHS OF NAPOLEON

(A.D. 1805—1812)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

AT Austerlitz, a Moravian village, the rival armies faced each other,—80,000 Russians and Austrians pitted against a nearly equal number of French veterans. A frosty sun shone bright upon the yet unsullied battleground, as three Emperors—Alexander of Russia, Francis of Austria, and Napoleon of the French—rode up the heights to watch the great game played out, and direct the movements of the day. France and Russia were to cross bayonets for the first time at Austerlitz. Cannon thundered, steel glanced, whirlwinds of cavalry swept across the field; and all the terrors and fury of battle began to rage. The Russian lines were too long and thin. At once Napoleon saw the fault, and like lightning formed his plan. Pushing in the centre, and breaking up the wings, he attacked the fragments of the line separately, and swept them in flying crowds from the field. In vain the Russian Guard strove to turn the tide of battle. It was a total rout. Then began the horrors of pursuit. A crowd of poor

Battle of Austerlitz.

wretches were fleeing over the ice which sheeted a neighboring lake, when the guns of the victors opened fire upon them, and they sank through the ripped and splintered floes. The loss of the allies exceeded 30,000—that of the French amounted to fully 12,000. The Treaty of Presburg, between France and Austria, was signed on the 26th of December.

Changes in Germany.

One result of Napoleon's triumph was a great change in the constitution of Germany. The Electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg were made kings; and many of the smaller States were formed, by the victor at Austerlitz, into the Confederation of the Rhine. Already, in 1804, Austria had been declared an empire, and the Emperor Francis II. of Germany had begun to call himself Emperor of Austria. This severance of Austria from Germany was formally completed in 1806.

The Emperor of the French then began to give away kingdoms. Seizing Naples early in 1806, he made his brother Joseph king. Turning the Batavian Republic into a Kingdom of Holland, he placed its crown on the head of his brother Louis. His brother-in-law, Murat, famed as the most dashing cavalry officer in Europe, became Grand Duke of Berg.

Prostration of Prussia.

But this year is most remarkable for the complete prostration of Prussia. She had been playing a double part; and never has man or nation done so without suffering just

and heavy punishment. Although she professed to be the friend of England, she made no scruple about receiving Hanover from the Emperor, who was England's bitterest foe. Napoleon now changed his tone, having no longer any need for keeping this truckling power in good humor. In two great battles,—Auerstadt and Jena,—fought upon the same day (1806), he utterly crushed the military power with which, but half a century ago, the Great Frederic had wrought such marvels. Prussia lay writhing at his feet.

From the Prussian capital, which he entered in triumph a week after the bloody day of Jena, he launched the Berlin Decrees. Thunderbolts he meant them to be, scathing to the roots the oak of British commerce; but the petty squibs fizzed harmlessly at the foot of the great unshaken tree. The British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade. The Continent of Europe was to hold no correspondence, to transact no business whatever with Britain. British manufactures and produce were declared contraband. British property was a lawful prize. Letters to and from the shores of Britain were to be kept and opened at the post-offices. The defeat of these tremendous decrees was complete and very amusing. "Artillery, horse, and infantry were always defeated when opposed to his battalions; but printed ginghams were irresistible. There were conspiracies beyond the reach of

The Berlin Decrees.

his spies in every parlor, where the daughters were dressed in colored muslins; and cloths, cutlery, and earthenware were smuggled wherever an English vessel could float."

We next find Russia facing the "Little Corporal," as his bronzed grenadiers loved to call him in their stories by the midnight watch-fire. It was in the depth of winter, in 1807, that the armies met on the field of Eylau. It was a drawn battle; but Napoleon, camping for eight days upon the reddened snow, claimed a great victory. But there was no doubt about the battle of Friedland, fought on the 14th of the following June. The Russians were driven across the Aller, with the loss of 60,000 men; and the Czar Alexander sought a peace, which was concluded at Tilsit on the Niemen. Prussia, who had plucked up heart again to dare French bayonets, had got her share of the beating, and was a partner in the humiliation of the peace.

Battle of Eylau.

The reaction now began. Having driven the royal house of Braganza from Portugal to Brazil, and having flung the Bourbons from the throne of Spain, he set his brother Joseph up, in place of the latter, as King of Spain. Murat was promoted to fill Joseph's vacant throne at Naples. The Spaniards drew their knives, called in British aid, and the Peninsular War began. The story of this war may be read in British history. Vimiera was its great opening field; and Vittoria (1813) the

The Peninsular War

decisive triumph of its great hero, Wellington. The war in the Peninsula was conducted by Napoleon's marshals, for greater interests occupied himself at the heart of Europe. He paid a short visit to Spain in the first year of the struggle, going, as he said, to rid the Peninsula of "the hideous presence of the English leopards." He beat the Spaniards at Tudela, entered Madrid in triumph (Dec. 4), and tried without success to cut off the retreating army of Moore. Then news of an Austrian war recalled him to France after an absence of scarcely three months.

Austria now mustered half a million soldiers, bent upon washing out in French blood the stains which Marengo and Austerlitz had left upon her banner. All around her frontiers and within her boundaries a spirit had begun to burn which boded no good to Napoleon. Major Schill (soon slain at Stralsund) drilled his corps of Prussian volunteers; and Hofer, the innkeeper of Tyrol (afterward shot at Mantua), roused the chamois-hunters to a patriotic war. There was no time to lose. Napoleon, dashing over the Rhine, beat the Archduke Charles at Eckmuhl, bombarded Vienna, and carried his eagles again into the splendid streets which had witnessed their triumphant march not four years before; and all this in nine days (April 3-12). He then crossed the Danube to the left bank, and fought there the indecisive battle of Aspern.

Capture of Vienna.

The Austrians broke down the bridge behind him, by throwing huge logs of timber into the swollen river. So he was obliged to shelter his army in the Island of Lobau, where he lay for six weeks. From this retreat he issued to fight the great battle of Wagram (1809). It was a terrible day. The thunder of the sky almost drowned the peals of gunpowder, as the armies rushed to the charge. All the roof-tops of Vienna were crowded with pale, excited men and women, gazing on a sight such as has seldom been seen. Four hundred thousand men were on the field. By mid-day the Austrian centre was driven in, and Francis, who had watched the battle from a hill, rode madly from the scene of slaughter and defeat. Peace followed as a matter of course. The Treaty of Schönbrunn, signed on the 14th of the following October, yielded to the conqueror territory containing more than two millions of people.

Battle of Wagram.

Treaty of Schonbrunn.

Yet Napoleon did not despise Austria. Far from it. It was indeed great glory for the *parvenu* to humble to the dust an ancient house like that of Hapsburg. But he had still that hankering after ancient name and lineage which often disfigures the character of a self-made man. Divorcing the faithful and loving Josephine, whose only faults were that she was a plebeian and had no children, he married the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria, in the hope that this daughter of the Haps-

Napoleon's marriage to Maria Louisa.

burgs would bear him a son. A year afterward his hope was realized. On the 20th of March, 1811, a son was born to him, whom he created at once King of Rome. But this King of Rome, better known as the Duc de Reichstadt, was not destined to hold the sceptre of France. Upon the fall of his father, in 1814, he retired to the Austrian court, and died at Schönbrunn in 1832.

The year which preceded the Austrian marriage had witnessed strange things in Rome. When Napoleon annexed to his far-spreading empire the Papal States, the poor Pope issued a bull of excommunication against the sacrilegious usurper. Napoleon, minding this once terrible instrument no more than the bite of a gnat, took a still more daring step. Sending his gendarmes one summer night to scale the walls of the palace on the Quirinal, he carried the Pope a captive to Savona, whence he removed him, in 1812, to Fontainebleau.

Napoleon's Empire.

The position of Napoleon at this height of his power (1811) is well worth marking. The French Empire, over which he ruled, extended from the borders of Denmark to those of Naples. Holland, Naples, and Westphalia were ruled by his kinsmen. His brother Joseph held an insecure throne at Madrid. Bernadotte, one of his generals, had been chosen Crown Prince of Sweden. As Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, he held the German States in subjection, and he did the

same kind office for the Helvetic Confederation, into which he had formed the cantons of Switzerland. Prussia and Austria crouched at his feet, and Russia seemed his firm ally. In four years all was changed. The magician's wand was broken, and his magnificent theatre of action had shrunk into a little house and garden on a barren rock far out in the tropic seas.

End of the Holy Roman Empire.

[In 1806, the Holy Roman Empire comes to an end. In 1807, the last direct heir of the Stuarts dies. The British bombard Copenhagen and seize the Danish fleet to keep it from Napoleon's clutches. Aaron Burr is tried for treason. In 1808, the importation of slaves into the United States is forbidden. In 1810, George III. finally loses his reason. Nathan Rothschild founds a great banking house. In 1811, the Russians seize Belgrade and capture a Turkish army. An engagement occurs between an American and an English ship. The Mamelukes are destroyed by Mehemet Ali Pacha. In 1821, Perceval, the Prime Minister of England, is murdered. Bernadotte forms an alliance with England and Russia against France. Napoleon reestablishes the Kingdom of Poland in consideration of assistance and invades Russia. Turkey invades and subdues Servia. The United States declare war against England and make an unsuccessful attack upon Canada.]

The United States declare war against England.

THE MOSCOW CAMPAIGN

(A.D. 1812)

CHARLES ALAN FYFFE

THE treaties which gave to Napoleon the hollow support of Austria and Prussia were signed early in the year 1812. During the next three months all Northern Germany was covered with enormous masses of troops and wagon-trains, on their way from the Rhine to the Vistula. No expedition had ever been organized on anything approaching to the scale of the invasion of Russia. In all the wars of the French since 1793 the enemy's country had furnished their armies with supplies, and the generals had trusted to their own exertions for everything but guns and ammunition. Such a method could not, however, be followed in an invasion of Russia. The country beyond the Niemen was no well-stocked garden, like Lombardy or Bavaria. Provisions for a mass of 450,000 men, with all the means of transport for carrying them far into Russia, had to be collected at Dantzig and the fortresses of the Vistula. No mercy was shown to the unfortunate countries whose position now

Preparations for invasion of Russia.

made them Napoleon's harvest-field and storehouse. Prussia was forced to supplement its military assistance with colossal grants of supplies. The whole of Napoleon's troops upon the march through Germany lived at the expense of the towns and villages through which they passed; in Westphalia such was the ruin caused by military requisitions, that King Jerome wrote Napoleon, warning him to fear the despair of men who had nothing more to lose.

Germany's sufferings.

At length the vast stores were collected, and the invading army reached the Vistula. Napoleon himself quitted Paris on the 9th of May, and received the homage of the Austrian and Prussian sovereigns at Dresden. The eastward movement of the army continued. The Polish and East Prussian districts, which had been the scene of the combats of 1807, were again traversed by French columns. On the 23d of June the order was given to cross the Niemen, and enter Russian territory. Out of 600,000 troops whom Napoleon had organized for this campaign, 450,000 were actually upon the frontier. Of these, 300,000 formed the central army, under Napoleon's own command, at Kowno, on the Niemen; to the north, at Tilsit, there was formed a corps of 95,000, which included the contingent furnished by Prussia; the Austrians, under Schwarzenberg, with a small French division, lay to the south, on the borders of Galicia. Against the main

Napoleon crosses the Russian frontier.

army of Napoleon, the real invading force, the Russians could only bring up 150,000 men. These were formed into the First and Second Armies of the West. The First, or Northern Army, with which the Czar himself was present, numbered about 100,000, under the command of Barclay de Tolly; the Second Army, half that strength, was led by Prince Bagration. In Southern Poland and on the Lower Niemen the French auxiliary corps were faced by weak divisions. In all, the Russians had only 220,000 men to oppose to more than double that number of the enemy. The principal reinforcements which they had to expect were from the armies hitherto engaged with the Turks upon the Danube. Alexander found it necessary to make peace with the Porte at the cost of a part of the spoils of Tilsit. The Danubian provinces, with the exception of Bessarabia, were restored to the Sultan, in order that Russia might withdraw its forces from the south. Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, concluded an alliance with the Czar against Napoleon. In return for the co-operation of a Swedish army, Alexander undertook, with an indifference to national right worthy of Napoleon himself, to wrest Norway from Denmark, and to annex it to the Swedish crown.

The Russian forces.

Alexander and Bernadotte.

The headquarters of the Russian army were at Wilna when Napoleon crossed the Niemen.

It was unknown whether the French intended to advance upon Moscow or upon St. Petersburg; nor had any systematic plan of the campaign been adopted by the Czar. The idea of falling back before the enemy was indeed familiar in Russia since the war between Peter the Great and Charles XII. of Sweden, and there was no want of good counsel in favor of a defensive warfare; but neither the Czar nor any one of his generals understood the simple theory of a retreat in which no battles at all should be fought. The most that was understood by a defensive system was the occupation of an intrenched position for battle, and a retreat to a second line of intrenchments before the engagement was repeated. The actual course of the campaign was no result of a profound design; it resulted from the disagreement of the generals' plans, and the frustration of them all. It was intended, in the first instance, to fight a battle at Drissa, on the river Dwina. In this position, which was supposed to cover the roads both to Moscow and St. Petersburg, a great intrenched camp had been formed, and here the Russian army was to make its first stand against Napoleon. Accordingly, as soon as the French crossed the Niemen, orders were given to both Barclay and Bagration to fall back upon Drissa. But the movements of the French army were too rapid for the Russian commanders to effect their junction. Bagration, who lay at

Russians intend to fight at Drissa.

some distance to the south, was cut off from his colleague, and forced to retreat along the eastern road toward Witepsk. Barclay, who reached Drissa in safety, but knew himself to be unable to hold it alone against 300,000 men, evacuated the lines without waiting for the approach of the French, and fell back in the direction taken by the second army. The first movement of defence had thus failed, and the Czar now quitted the camp, leaving to Barclay the command of the whole Russian forces.

Russian armies severed, and retreat on Witepsk.

Napoleon entered Wilna, the capital of Russian Poland, on the 28th of June. The last Russian detachments had only left it a few hours before; but the French were in no condition for immediate pursuit. Before the army reached the Niemen, the unparalleled difficulties of the campaign had become only too clear. The vast wagon-trains broke down on the highways. The stores were abundant, but the animals which had to transport them died of exhaustion. No human genius, no perfection of foresight and care, could have achieved the enormous task which Napoleon had undertaken. In spite of a year's preparations, the French suffered from hunger and thirst from the moment that they set foot on Russian soil. Thirty thousand stragglers had left the army before it reached Wilna; twenty-five thousand sick were in the hospitals; the transports were at an unknown distance in

Collapse of the French transport.

the rear. At the end of six days' march from the Niemen, Napoleon found himself compelled to halt for nearly three weeks. The army did not leave Wilna till the 16th of July, when Barclay had already evacuated the camp at Drissa. When at length a march became possible, Napoleon moved upon the Upper Dwina, hoping to intercept Barclay upon the road to Witepsk; but difficulties of transport again brought him to a halt, and the Russian commander reached Witepsk before his adversary. Here Barclay drew up for battle, supposing Bagration's army to be but a short distance to the south. In the course of the night intelligence arrived that Bagration's army was nowhere near the rallying-point, but had been driven back toward Smolensko. Barclay immediately gave up the thought of fighting a battle, and took the Smolensko road himself, leaving his watch-fires burning. His movement was unperceived by the French; the retreat was made in good order, and the two several Russian armies at length effected their junction at a point three hundred miles distant from the frontier.

Delay at Wilna.

Barclay and Bagration unite at Smolensko

Napoleon, disappointed of battle, entered Witepsk on the evening after the Russians had abandoned it (July 28). Barclay's escape was, for the French, a disaster of the first magnitude, for it extinguished all hope of crushing the larger of the two Russian armies by overwhelming numbers in one great and

decisive engagement. The march of the French during the last twelve days showed at what cost every further step must be made. Since quitting Wilna, the 50,000 sick and stragglers had risen to 100,000. Fever and disease struck down whole regiments. The provisioning of the army was beyond all human power. Of the 200,000 men who still remained, it might almost be calculated in how many weeks the last would perish. So fearful was the prospect, that Napoleon himself thought of abandoning any further advance until the next year, and of permitting the army to enter into winter quarters upon the Dwina. But the conviction that all Russian resistance would end with the capture of Moscow hurried him on. The army left Witepsk on the 13th of August, and followed the Russians to Smolensko. Here the entire Russian army clamored for battle. Barclay stood alone in perceiving the necessity for retreat. The generals caballed against him; the soldiers were on the point of mutiny; the Czar himself wrote to express his impatience for an attack upon the French. Barclay, nevertheless, persisted in his resolution to abandon Smolensko. He so far yielded to the army as to permit the rearguard to engage in a bloody struggle with the French when they assaulted the town; but the evacuation was completed under cover of night; and when the French made their entrance into Smolensko

The French waste away

The French enter Smolensko.

on the next morning they found it deserted and in ruins. The surrender of Smolensko was the last sacrifice that Barclay could extort from Russian pride. He no longer opposed the universal cry for battle, and the retreat was continued only with the intention of halting at the first strong position. Barclay himself was surveying a battle-ground when he heard that the command had been taken out of his hands. The Czar had been forced by national indignation at the loss of Smolensko to remove this able soldier, who was a Livonian by birth, and to transfer the command to Kutusoff, a thorough Russian, whom a lifetime spent in victories over the Turks had made, in spite of his defeat at Austerlitz, the idol of the nation.

Barclay superseded by Kutusoff

When Kutusoff reached the camp, the prolonged miseries of the French advance had already reduced the invaders to the number of the army opposed to them. As far as Smolensko the French had at least not suffered from the hostility of the population, who were Poles, not Russians. On reaching Smolensko they entered a country where every peasant was a fanatical enemy. The villages were burnt down by their inhabitants, the corn destroyed, and the cattle driven into the woods. Every day's march onward from Smolensko cost the French 3,000 men. On reaching the river Moskwa, in the first week of September, 175,000 out of Napoleon's 300,000 soldiers

Cost of the advance.

were in the hospitals, or missing, or dead. The Russians, on the other hand, had received reinforcements which covered their losses at Smolensko; and, although detachments had been sent to support the army of Riga, Kutusoff was still able to place 125,000 men in the field.

On the 5th of September the Russian army drew up for battle at Borodino, on the Moskwa, seventy miles west of the capital. At early morning, on the 7th, the French advanced to the attack. The battle was, in proportion to its numbers, the most sanguinary of modern times. Forty thousand French, thirty thousand Russians were struck down. At the close of the day the French were in possession of the enemy's ground, but the Russians, unbroken in their order, had only retreated to a second line of defence. Both sides claimed the victory; neither had won it. It was no catastrophe such as Napoleon required for the decision of the war; it was no triumph sufficient to save Russia from the necessity of abandoning its capital. Kutusoff had sustained too heavy a loss to face the French beneath the walls of Moscow. Peace was no nearer for the 70,000 men who had been killed or wounded in the fight. The French steadily advanced; the Russians retreated to Moscow, and evacuated the capital when their generals decided that they could not encounter the French assault. The Holy City was left unde-

Battle of Borodino.

fended before the invader. But the departure of the army was the smallest part of the evacuation. The inhabitants, partly of their own free will, partly under the compulsion of the Governor, abandoned the city in a mass. No gloomy or excited crowd, as at Vienna and Berlin, thronged the streets to witness the entrance of the great conqueror, when, on the 14th of September, Napoleon took possession of Moscow. His troops marched through silent and deserted streets. In the solitude of the Kremlin, Napoleon received the homage of a few foreigners, who alone could be collected by the servants to tender to him the submission of the city.

The Russians evacuate Moscow.

But the worst was yet to come. On the night after Napoleon's entry, fires broke out in different parts of Moscow. They were ascribed at the first to accident; but when on the next day the French saw the flames gaining ground in every direction, and found that all the means for extinguishing fire had been removed from the city, they understood the doom to which Moscow had been devoted by its own defenders. Count Rostopchin, the Governor, had determined on the destruction of Moscow without the knowledge of the Czar. The doors of the prisons were thrown open. Rostopchin gave the signal by setting fire to his own palace, and let loose his bands of incendiaries over the whole of the city. For five days the flames rose and fell: when,

Moscow fired.

on the evening of the 20th, the last fires ceased, three-fourths of Moscow lay in ruins.

Such was the prize for which Napoleon had sacrificed 200,000 men, and engulfed the weak remnant of his army six hundred miles deep in an enemy's country. Through all the terrors of the advance Napoleon had held fast to the belief that Alexander's resistance would end with the fall of his capital. The events that accompanied the entry of the French into Moscow shook his confidence; yet even now Napoleon could not believe that the Czar remained firm against all thoughts of peace. His experience in all earlier wars had given him confidence in the power of one conspicuous disaster to unhinge the resolutions of kings. His trust in the deepening impression made by the fall of Moscow was fostered by negotiations begun by Kutusoff for the very purpose of delaying the French retreat. For five weeks Napoleon remained at Moscow as if spellbound, unable to convince himself of his powerlessness to break Alexander's determination, unable to face a retreat which would display to all Europe the failure of his arms and the termination of his career of victory. At length the approach of winter forced him to action. It was impossible to provision the army at Moscow during the winter months, even if there had been nothing to fear from the enemy. Even the mocking overtures of Kutusoff had ceased. The frightful reality

Napoleon's prize.

Russian craft.

could no longer be concealed. On the 19th of October the order for retreat was given. It was not the destruction of Moscow but the departure of its inhabitants, that had brought the conqueror to ruin. Above two thousand houses were still standing; but whether the buildings remained or perished made little difference; the whole value of the capital to Napoleon was lost when the inhabitants, whom he could have forced to procure supplies for his army, disappeared. Vienna and Berlin had been of such incalculable service to Napoleon because the whole native administration placed itself under his orders, and every rich and important citizen became a hostage for the activity of all the rest. When the French gained Moscow, they gained nothing beyond the supplies which were at that moment in the city. All was lost to Napoleon when the class who in other capitals had been his instruments fled at his approach. The conflagration of Moscow acted upon all Europe as a signal of inextinguishable national hatred; as a military operation it neither accelerated the retreat of Napoleon, nor added to the miseries which his army had to undergo.

Cause of ruin.

The French forces which quitted Moscow in October numbered about 100,000 men. Reinforcements had come in during the occupation of the city, and the health of the soldiers had been in some degree restored by a

Napoleon leaves Moscow.

month's rest. Everything now depended upon gaining a line of retreat where food could be found. Though but a third part of the army which entered Russia in the summer, the army which left Moscow was still large enough to protect itself against the enemy, if allowed to retreat through a fresh country; if forced back upon the devastated line of its advance, it was impossible for it to escape destruction. Napoleon therefore determined to make for Kaluga, on the south of Moscow, and to endeavor to gain a road to Smolensko far distant from that by which he had come. The army moved from Moscow in a southern direction. But its route had been foreseen by Kutusoff. At the end of four days' march it was met by a Russian corps at Jaroslavitz. A bloody struggle left the French in possession of the road: they continued their advance; but it was only to find that Kutusoff, with his full strength, had occupied a line of heights further south, and barred the way to Kaluga. The effort of an assault was beyond the powers of the French. Napoleon surveyed the enemy's position, and recognized the fatal necessity of abandoning the march southward, and returning to the wasted road by which he had advanced. The meaning of the backward movement was quickly understood by the army. From the moment of quitting Jaroslavitz, disorder and despair increased with every march. Thirty thousand men were lost

Kutusoff's successful tactics.

upon the road before a pursuer appeared in sight. When, on the 2d of November, the army reached Wiazma, it numbered no more than 65,000 men.

Kutusoff follows by parallel road.

Kutusoff was unadventurous in pursuit. The necessity of moving his army along a parallel road south of the French, in order to avoid starvation, diminished the opportunities for attack; but the general himself disliked risking his forces, and preferred to see the enemy's destruction effected by the elements. At Wiazma, where, on the 3d of November, the French were for the first time attacked in force, Kutusoff's own delay alone saved them from total ruin. In spite of heavy loss, the French kept possession of the road, and secured their retreat to Smolensko, where stores of food had been accumulated, and where other and less exhausted French troops were at hand.

Frost, November 6.

Up to the 6th of November the weather had been sunny and dry. On the 6th, the long delayed terrors of Russian winter broke upon the pursuers and the pursued. Snow darkened the air, and hid the last traces of vegetation from the starving cavalry trains. The temperature sank at times to forty degrees of frost. Death came, sometimes in the unfelt release from misery, sometimes in horrible forms of mutilation and disease. Both armies were exposed to the same sufferings; but the Russians had at least such succor

as their countrymen could give: where the French sank, they died. The order of war disappeared under conditions which made life itself the accident of a meal or of a place by the campfire. Though most of the French soldiery continued to carry their arms, the Guard alone kept its separate formation; the other regiments marched in confused masses. From the 9th to the 13th of November these starving bands arrived one after another at Smolensko, expecting that here their sufferings would end. But the organization for distributing the stores accumulated in Smolensko no longer existed. The perishing crowds were left to find shelter wherever they could; sacks of corn were thrown to them for food.

French reach Smolensko, November 9.

It was impossible for Napoleon to give his wearied soldiers rest, for new Russian armies were advancing from the north and the south to cut off their retreat. From the Danube and from the Baltic Sea troops were pressing forward to their meeting-point upon the rear of the invader. Wittgenstein, moving southward at the head of the army of the Dwina, had overpowered the French corps stationed upon that river, and made himself master of Witepsk. The army of Bucharest, which had been toiling northward ever since the beginning of August, had advanced to within a few days' march of its meeting-point with the army of the Dwina upon the line of Na-

Converging Russian armies.

poleon's communications. Before Napoleon reached Smolensko he sent orders to Victor, who was at Smolensko with some reserves, to march against Wittgenstein and drive him back upon the Dwina. Victor set out on his mission. During the short halt of Napoleon in Smolensko, Kutusoff pushed forward to the west of the French, and took post at Krasnoi, thirty miles further on the road by which Napoleon had to pass. The retreat of the French seemed to be actually cut off. Had the Russian general dared to face Napoleon and his Guards, he might have held the French in check until the arrival of the two auxiliary armies from the North and South enabled him to capture Napoleon with his entire force. Kutusoff, however, preferred a partial and certain victory to a struggle with Napoleon for life or death. He permitted Napoleon and the Guard to pass by unattacked, and then fell upon the hinder divisions of the French army (November 17). These unfortunate troops were successively cut to pieces. Twenty-six thousand were made prisoners. Ney, with a part of the rear-guard, only escaped by crossing the Dnieper on the ice. Of the army that had quitted Moscow, there now remained but 10,000 combatants and 20,000 followers. Kutusoff himself was brought to such a state of exhaustion that he could carry the pursuit no further, and entered into quarters upon the Dnieper.

Battle of Krasnoi.

It was a few days after the battle of Krasnoi that the divisions of Victor, coming from the direction of the Dwina, suddenly encountered the remnant of Napoleon's army. Though aware that Napoleon was in retreat, they knew nothing of the calamities that had befallen him, and were struck with amazement when, in the middle of a forest, they met with what seemed more like a miserable troop of captives than any part of an army upon the march. Victor's soldiers, of a mere auxiliary force, found themselves more than double the effective strength of the whole army of Moscow. Their arrival again placed Napoleon at the head of 30,000 disciplined troops, and gave the French a gleam of victory in the last and seemingly most hopeless struggle in the campaign. Admiral Tchitchagoff, in command of the army marching from the Danube, had at length reached the line of Napoleon's retreat, and established himself at Borisov, where the road through Poland crosses the river Beresina. The bridge was destroyed by the Russians, and Tchitchagoff opened communication with Wittgenstein's army, which lay only a few miles to the north. It appeared as if the retreat of the French was now finally intercepted, and the surrender of Napoleon inevitable. Yet even in this hopeless situation the military skill and daring of the French worked with something of its ancient power. The army reached the

Victor joins Napoleon.

Napoleon outwits Tchitchagoff.

Passage of the Beresina.

Beresina; Napoleon succeeded in withdrawing the enemy from the real point of passage: bridges were thrown across the river, and after desperate fighting a great part of the army made good its footing upon the western bank (November 28). But the losses even among the effective troops were enormous. The fate of the miserable crowd that followed them, torn by the cannon-fire of the Russians, and precipitated into the river by the breaking of one of the bridges, has made the passage of the Beresina a synonym for the utmost degree of human woe.

Demoralization of the survivors.

This was the last engagement fought by the army. The Guards still preserved their order: Marshal Ney still found soldiers capable of turning upon the pursuer with his own steady and unflagging courage; but the bulk of the army struggled forward in confused crowds, harassed by the Cossacks, and laying down their arms by thousands before the enemy. The frost, which had broken up on the 19th, returned on the 30th of November with even greater severity. Twenty thousand fresh troops, which joined the army between the Beresina and the Wilna, scarcely arrested the process of dissolution. On the 3d of December Napoleon quitted the army. Wilna itself was abandoned with all its stores; and when at length the fugitives reached the Niemen, they numbered in all little more than 20,000. Here, six months earlier, 300,000 men had

French reach the Niemen, December 13.

THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW

From the painting by Meissonier

—Vol. VI, page 1898

crossed with Napoleon. Ninety thousand more had joined the army in the course of its retreat. Of all this host, scarcely the twentieth part reached the Prussian frontier. A hundred and seventy thousand remained prisoners in the hands of the Russians; a great number had perished. Of the 20,000 men who now beheld the Niemen, probably not 7,000 had crossed with Napoleon. In the presence of a catastrophe so overwhelming and so unparalleled the Russian generals might well be content with their own share in the work of destruction. Yet the event proved that Kutusoff had done ill in sparing the extremest effort to capture or annihilate his foe. Not only was Napoleon's own escape the pledge of continued war, but the remnant that escaped with him possessed a military value out of all proportion to its insignificant numbers. The best of the army were the last to succumb. Out of those few thousands who endured to the end a very large proportion were veteran officers, who immediately took their place at the head of Napoleon's newly raised armies, and gave to them a military efficiency soon to be bitterly proved by Europe on many a German battlefield.

Kutusoff's error.

Three hundred thousand men were lost to a conqueror who could still stake the lives of half a million more. The material power of Napoleon, though largely, was not fatally,

Effects of the campaign.

diminished by the Russian campaign; it was through its moral effect, first proved in the action of Prussia, that the retreat from Moscow created a new order of things in Europe.

British defeat the French at Vittoria.

[In 1813, the British defeat the French at Vittoria, and the battles of the Pyrenees, storming St. Sebastian and taking Pampeluna. After the French defeat at Leipzic, Italy revolts and the Austrians defeat Eugene Beauharnais. The French are also expelled from Holland, and the son of the former stadtholder is restored as William I. Denmark gives up alliance with France, and Norway is ceded to Sweden. England acquires Heligoland. Russia penetrates to the Caspian Sea.

The British defeated on Lake Erie.

Trade with India is opened to all nations, and the British are defeated on Lake Erie.]

THE BATTLE OF VITTORIA

(A.D. 1813)

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON

THE immense baggage trains of Joseph's army had now fallen back into the basin of Vittoria, and seventy thousand men were assembled to protect their retreat into France. But it seemed hardly possible that even that large force could secure the safe transit of such an enormous multitude of carriages; and yet how could they be abandoned without confessing defeat, and relinquishing, at the same time, the whole ammunition wagons and military stores of the army? The rapacity of the French authorities in Spain; the general spoliation which, from the marshals downward, they had exercised under the imperial orders in every part of the country, now fell with just but terrible force upon them: their gallant army was about to be overwhelmed by the immensity of its spoil. In retreating through Madrid and the two Castiles, the French authorities had levied contributions surpassing all the former ones in severity and magnitude; and the enormous

Concentration of Joseph's army.

sums raised in this way, amounting to five millions and a half of dollars, were all existing in hard cash, and constituted no inconsiderable part of the weight with which the army was encumbered. Not content with these pecuniary exactions, both Joseph and his generals had faithfully followed the example set them by the Emperor, in collecting and bringing off all the most precious works of art which adorned the Spanish capital and provinces. All the marshals, from Murat, who commenced the pillage, in 1808, had gratified themselves by seizing upon the finest paintings which were to be found in convents or private palaces in every part of the country; and Marshal Soult, in particular, had, from the rich spoils of the Andalusian convents, formed the noble collection of paintings by Murillo and Velasquez which now adorns his hotel at Paris. But when Joseph and his whole civil functionaries came to break up finally from Madrid, the work of spoliation went on on a greater scale, and extended to every object of interest, whether from beauty, rarity, or antiquity, which was to be found in the royal palaces or museums. Many of the finest works of Titian, Raphael, and Correggio were got hold of in this manner, especially from the Escurial and the royal palace at Madrid; while all the archives and museums in the capital and in Old Castile had been compelled to yield up their most pre-

Immense French spoil.

Soult's collection of paintings.

cious contents to accompany the footsteps of the fugitive monarch. All this precious spoil was dragged along in endless convoy in the rear of the French army; and when it halted and faced about in the basin of Vittoria, it was rather from a sense of the evident impossibility of transporting the prodigious mass in safety through the approaching defiles of the Pyrenees, than from any well-founded hope of being able to resist the shock of the Anglo-Portuguese army.

Embarrassment of the great convoy.

The basin of Vittoria, which has become immortal from the battle, decisive of the fate of the Peninsula, which was fought within its bosom, is a small plain, about eight miles in length by six in breadth, situated in an elevated plateau among the mountains. It is bounded on the north and east by the commencement of the Pyrenean range, and on the west by a chain of rugged mountains, which separates the province of Alava from that of Biscay.

The basin of Vittoria.

The strength of the French position consisted chiefly in the great number of bridges, which the allied forces had to pass, over the numerous mountain streams which descend into the basin of Vittoria, some of which, particularly that of Puebla and Nanclares, to the south of Vittoria, and that of Gamarra Mayor and Ariega, to the north of that town, were of great strength, and easily susceptible of defence. The ridges, too, which cross the plain,

The French position.

afforded successive defensive positions, the last of which was close to the town of Vittoria. On the other hand, the weakness of their situation consisted in the single line of retreat passable for the carriages of the army, which was kept open for them in case of disaster; and the appalling dangers which awaited them if their army in the plain met with a serious reverse, and either lost the command of the great road to Bayonne, or was driven, with its immense files of ammunition and baggage wagons, into the rough mountain road leading to Pampeluna.

Advance of the British.

At daybreak on the morning of the 21st, the whole British columns were in motion, and the centre and right soon surmounted the high ground which screened their night bivouac from the sight of the enemy; and their masses appeared in imposing strength on the summit of the ridges which shut in on the south the basin of Vittoria. The column on the left moved toward Mendoza, while Hill, at ten o'clock, reached the pass of Puebla, into which he immediately descended, and pressing through, began extending into the plain in front; Murillo's Spaniards, with surprising vigor, swarming up the steep and rocky ascents on his right. There, however, the French made a stout resistance; Murillo was wounded, but still kept the field; fresh troops reinforced their line on the craggy heights, so that Hill was obliged to send the 71st, and a bat-

talion of light infantry of Walker's brigade, to Murillo's support, under Colonel Cadogan. Hardly had he reached the summit, when that noble officer fell while cheering on his men to charge the enemy; and, though mortally wounded, he refused to be taken to the rear, and still rested on the field, watching with dying eyes the advance of his heroic Highlanders along the ridge. Still the battle was maintained with extraordinary resolution on the summit, and it was only by sending fresh troops to their support, and step by step, by force of sheer fighting, that the French were at length borne backward to nearly opposite Subijana; while Hill, in the valley below, encouraged by the progress of the scarlet uniforms on the summit on his right, pressed vigorously forward, and emerging from the defile of Puebla, carried by storm the village of Subijana, and extended his line into communication with his extreme right on the summit of the ridge.

Charge of the Highlanders.

Hill's success.

While this bloody conflict was going on on the steeps above the Zadorra on the right, Wellington himself, with the centre, had surmounted the heights in his front, and descended in great strength into the plain of Vittoria. His troops met with no serious opposition till they came to the bridges by which the rivers in the bottom were crossed; but as they were all occupied by the enemy, and the rocky thickets on their sides filled with tirail-

Progress of Wellington in the centre.

Obstinate resistance.

leurs, a warm exchange of musketry began, especially at the bridge of Nanclares, opposite the fourth division, and that of Villodar, by which the light divisions were to cross. The attack on these bridges was delayed till the third and seventh divisions, who formed the reserves of the centre, had come up to their ground, and they were somewhat retarded by the roughness of the hills over which they had to march; and, meanwhile, Wellington sent orders to Hill to arrest the progress of his extreme right on the summit of the ridge, in order that the whole army might advance abreast. Meanwhile, a Spanish peasant brought information that the bridge of Tres Puentes was negligently guarded, and offered himself to guide the light division over it; and the heads of the columns of the third and seventh divisions, forming the left centre, having now appeared on their ground, the advance was resumed at all points, both in the centre and on the right. Kempt's brigade of the light division, led by the brave peasant, soon gained the bridge; the fifteenth hussars, coming up at a canter, dashed by single file over, and the arch was won. It was now one o'clock; the firing was renewed with redoubled vigor on the heights above Subijana, while faint columns of white smoke, accompanied by a sound like distant thunder, showed that Graham's attack on Gamarra Mayor, in the enemy's rear, had commenced. At this

moment the third and seventh divisions were moving rapidly down to the bridge of Mendoza; but the enemy's light troops and guns kept up a most vigorous fire upon the advancing masses, until the riflemen of the light division, who had got across at Tres Puentes, charged them in flank, when the position was abandoned, and the British left crossed without further opposition. The whole French centre, alarmed by the progress which Graham was making in their rear, now retreated toward Vittoria, not, however, in disorder, but facing about at every defensible position to retard the enemy; while the British troops continued to advance in pursuit in admirable order, their regiments and squadrons surmounting the rugged inequalities in the ground with the most beautiful precision.

Capture of the Tres Puentes bridge.

Retreat of the French centre.

The decisive blow, however, had meanwhile been struck by Graham on the left. That noble officer, who, at the age of sixty-eight, possessed all the vigor of twenty-five, and who was gifted with the true eye of a general, had started before daylight from his bivouac in the mountains on the left, and by eleven o'clock, after a most fatiguing and toilsome march over the hills, reached the heights above Gamarra Mayor and Ariega, which were strongly occupied by the French right under Reille. General Oswald, who commanded the head of Graham's corps, consisting of the fifth division, Pack's Portuguese,

Decisive success of Graham on the left.

and Longa's Spaniards, immediately commenced the attack, and not only drove the enemy from the heights, but got possession of Gamarra Mayor, which cut off the road to Durango. Gamarra Mayor was the next object of attack; and the French, aware of its importance, as commanding the great road to Bayonne, made the most strenuous efforts for its defence. At length Robinson's brigade of the fifth division burst in, bearing down all opposition, and capturing three guns; but Reille's men had barricaded the opposite end of the bridge, and their fire from the windows of the houses was so severe that they retained the opposite bank of the Zadorra. At the same time, the Germans under Halket had, in the most gallant manner, assaulted the village of Abechuco, which commanded the bridge of Ariega. It was at length carried by the brave Germans and Bradford's Portuguese; but they were unable, any more than at Gamarra Mayor, to force the bridge, and a murderous fire of musketry was kept up from the opposite sides, without enabling either party to dislodge the other from its position. But, meanwhile, General Sarrut was killed, and some British brigades, pushing on, got possession of the great road from Vittoria to Bayonne, and immediately the cry spread through the French army that their retreat was cut off and all was lost.

Capture of Gamarra Mayor.

Death of General Sarrut.

It was no longer a battle, but a retreat; yet,

in conducting it, the French soldiers maintained the high character for intrepidity and steadiness which had rendered them the terror and admiration of Europe. A large body of skirmishers was thrown out to check the advance of the pursuing columns, and fifty guns, placed in the rear, which were worked with extraordinary vigor, retarded for some time the pursuit of the British centre. Wellington, however, brought up several British batteries, and the enemy were at length forced back to the ridge in front of Gomecha. An obstinate conflict took place in Arinez, into which Picton plunged at the head of the riflemen of his division; but at length the village was carried; the 87th, under Colonel Gough, stormed Hermandad, and the French in Subijana, finding their right forced back, were obliged to retreat two miles toward Vittoria in a disordered mass. Thus the action became a sort of running fight or cannonade, which continued for six miles; but the French, notwithstanding all their efforts, were unable to hold any position long enough to enable the carriages in the rear to draw off; and as they were all thrown back into the little plain in front of Vittoria, the throng there became excessive, and already the cries of despair, as on the banks of the Beresina, were heard from the agitated multitude. Joseph now ordered the retreat to be conducted by the only road which remained open, that to Pampeluna; but

Retreat of the French.

The French abandon Subijana.

it was too late to draw off any of the carriages; and "as the English shot went booming overhead," says an eyewitness, "the vast crowd started and swerved with a convulsive movement, while a dull and horrid sound of distress arose; but there was no hope, no stay for either army or multitude." Eighty pieces of cannon, jammed close together near Vittoria, kept up a desperate fire to the last, and the gunners worked them with frantic energy; while Reille, with heroic resolution, maintained his ground on the Upper Zadorra; but it was all of no avail: the great road to France was lost; an overturned wagon on that to Pampeluna rendered all further passage for carriages impracticable; the British dragoons were thundering in close pursuit, and soon the frantic multitude dispersed on all sides, making their way through fields, across ditches, and over the hills, leaving their whole artillery, ammunition wagons, and the spoil of a kingdom, as a prey to the victors.

Capture of the baggage.

Never before, in modern times, had such a prodigious accumulation of military stores and private wealth fallen to the lot of a victorious army. Jourdan's marshal's baton, Joseph's private carriage, a hundred and fifty-one brass guns, four hundred and fifteen caissons of ammunition, thirteen hundred thousand ball-cartridges, fourteen thousand rounds of ammunition, and forty thousand pounds of gunpowder, constituted the military trophies

Prodigious amount of the spoil taken.

of a victory where six thousand also were killed and wounded, and a thousand prisoners taken. It at one blow destroyed the warlike efficiency of the French army, swept them like a whirlwind from the Spanish plains, and made Joseph's crown drop from his head. No estimate can be formed of the amount of private plunder which was taken on the field; but it exceeded anything witnessed in modern war, for it was not the produce of the sack of a city or the devastation of a province, but the accumulated plunder of a kingdom during five years, which was now at one fell swoop reft from the spoiler. Independent of private booty, no less than five millions and a half of dollars in the military chest of the army were taken; and of private wealth, the amount was so prodigious that, for miles together, the combatants may be almost said to have marched upon gold and silver without stooping to pick it up. But the regiments which followed, not equally warmed in the fight, were not so disinterested: enormous spoil fell into the hands of the private soldiers; and the cloud of camp-followers and sutlers who followed in their train swept the ground so completely, that only a hundred thousand dollars of the whole taken was brought into the military chest! But the effects of this prodigious booty speedily appeared in the dissolution of the bonds of discipline in a large part of the army: the fright-

Importance of the victory.

ful national vice of intemperance broke out in dreadful colors, from the unbounded means of indulging it which were thus speedily acquired; and we have the authority of Wellington for the assertion that, three weeks after the battle, above twelve thousand soldiers had disappeared from their colors, though the total loss of the battle was only 5,180, of whom 3,308 were British; and these stragglers were only reclaimed by sedulous efforts and rigorous severity.

Demoralization of the troops.

So vast was the number of ladies of pleasure who were among the carriages in the train of the French officers, that it was a common saying afterward in their army, that it was no wonder they were beaten at Vittoria, for they sacrificed their guns to save their mistresses. Rich vestures of all sorts, velvet and silk brocades, gold and silver plate, noble pictures, jewels, laces, cases of claret and champagne, poodles, parrots, monkeys, and trinkets, lay scattered about the field in endless confusion, amid weeping mothers, wailing infants, and all the unutterable miseries of warlike overthrow. Joseph himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner: a squadron of dragoons pursued the carriage and fired into it, and he had barely time to throw himself out and escape on horseback under shelter of a squadron of horse; his carriage was taken, and in it the beautiful Correggio of Christ in the Garden, which now adorns Apsley House in London.

Escape of Joseph.

The great convoy of pictures, however, which Joseph was carrying off, after narrowly escaping recapture, reached France in safety, having set out a day previously. The bonds contracted during so many years' occupation of the Peninsula, many of them of the tenderest kind, were all at once snapped asunder by one rude shock; and amid the shouts of joy which arose on all sides for a delivered monarchy were heard the sighs of the vanquished, who mourned the severance of the closest ties by which the heart of man can be bound in this world. Wellington, in a worthy spirit, did all in his power to soften the blow to the many ladies of rank and respectability who fell into his hands. The Countess Gazan, with a number of other wives of the French officers, were next day sent on to Pampeluna with a flag of truce, in their own carriages, which had been rescued from the spoil. But a more important acquisition was obtained in the whole archives of the court of Madrid, including a great mass of Napoleon's original and secret correspondence, an invaluable acquisition to historic truth, to which this narrative has been more than once largely indebted. It is a remarkable fact, that the battle was fought in the close vicinity of the spot where the gallant attempt of the Black Prince to establish the rightful, though savage monarch, Peter the Cruel, on the throne of Spain, five hundred years before, had been victorious; and when

Wellington's humanity.

Here the fate of Spain twice decided.

pursuing the French troops near Arinez, over the hill which still bears the name of the "English Hill" (Inglesmendi), the English soldiers unconsciously trode on the bones of their fathers. Twice had the fate of Spain been decided, by the aid of British blood, in the plain of Vittoria.

THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

(A.D. 1813)

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

THE squadron was still lying at Put-in-Bay on the morning of the 10th of September, when, at daylight, the enemy's ships were discovered at the northwest, from the masthead of the *Lawrence*. A signal was immediately made for all the vessels to get under way. The wind was light at southwest, and there was no mode of obtaining the weather-gauge of the enemy (a very important measure with the peculiar armament of the largest of the American vessels) but by beating round some small islands that lay in the way. It being thought there was not sufficient time for this, though the boats were got ahead to tow, a signal was about to be made for the vessels to wear, and to pass to leeward of the islands, with an intention of giving the enemy this great advantage, when the wind shifted to the southeast. By this change the American squadron was enabled to pass the islands in the desired direction, and to gain the wind. When he perceived the American vessels clear-

The American squadron at Put-in-Bay.

ing the land, or about 10 A.M., the enemy hove to, in a line, with his ships' heads to the westward. At this time the two squadrons were about three leagues asunder, the breeze being still at southeast, and sufficient to work with. After standing down, until about a league from the English, where a better view was got of the manner in which the enemy had formed his line, the leading vessels of his own squadron being within hail, Capt. Perry communicated a new order of attack. It had been expected that the *Queen Charlotte,* the second of the English vessels in regard to force, would be at the head of their line, and the *Niagara* had been destined to lead in, and to lie against her, Capt. Perry having reserved for himself a commander's privilege of engaging the principal vessel of the opposing squadron; but, it now appearing that the anticipated arrangement had not been made, the plan was promptly altered. Capt. Barclay had formed his line with the *Chippeway,* Mr. Campbell, armed with one gun on a pivot, in the van; the *Detroit,* his own vessel, next; and the *Hunter,* Lieut. Bignall; *Queen Charlotte,* Capt. Finnis; *Lady Prevost,* Lieutenant-Commander Buchan; and *Little Belt* astern, in the order named. To oppose this line, the *Ariel,* of four long twelves, was stationed in the van, and the *Scorpion,* of one long and one short gun, on circles next her. The *Lawrence,* Capt. Perry, came next; the

Position of the ships.

The commanders.

two schooners just mentioned keeping on her weather bow, having no quarters. The *Caledonia,* Lieut. Turner, was the next astern, and the *Niagara,* Capt. Elliott, was placed next to the *Caledonia.* These vessels were all up at the time, but the other light craft were more or less distant, each endeavoring to get into her berth. The order of battle for the remaining vessels directed the *Tigress* to fall in astern of the *Niagara,* the *Somers* next, and the *Porcupine* and *Trippe* in the order named.

Gallant appearance of the English.

By this time the wind had got to be very light, but the leading vessels were all in their stations, and the remainder were endeavoring to get in as fast as possible. At this moment, the English vessels presented a very gallant array, and their appearance has been described as beautiful and imposing. Their line was compact, with the heads of the vessels still to the southward and westward; their ensigns were just opening to the air; their vessels were freshly painted, and their canvas was new and perfect. The American line was more straggling. The order of battle required them to form within half a cable's length of each other, but the schooners astern could not close with the vessels ahead, which sailed faster, and had more light canvas, until some considerable time had elapsed.

A few minutes before twelve, the *Detroit* threw a 24-pound shot at the *Lawrence,* then on her weather quarter, distant between one

The action begins.

and two miles. Capt. Perry now passed an order, by the trumpet, through the vessels astern, for the line to close to the prescribed order, and soon after the *Scorpion* was hailed and directed to begin with her long guns. At this moment, the American vessels in line were edging down upon the English, those in front being necessarily nearer to the enemy than those astern of them, with the exception of the *Ariel* and the *Scorpion,* which two schooners had been ordered to keep to windward of the *Lawrence.* As the *Detroit* had an armament of long guns, Capt. Barclay manifested his judgment in commencing the action in this manner, and in a short time the firing between that ship, the *Lawrence,* and the two schooners at the head of the American line became animated. A few minutes later the vessels astern began to fire, and the action became general, but distant. The *Lawrence,* however, appeared to be the principal aim of the enemy, and before the firing had lasted any material time, the *Detroit, Hunter,* and *Queen Charlotte* were directing most of their efforts against her. The American brig endeavored to close, and did succeed in getting within reach of canister, though not without suffering materially, as she fanned down upon the enemy. At this time, the support of the two schooners ahead, which were well commanded and fought, was of the greatest moment to her, for the vessels astern, though in

The English attack the *Lawrence.*

the line, could be of little use in diverting the fire, on account of their positions and the distance. After the firing had lasted some time, the *Niagara* hailed the *Caledonia,* and directed the latter to make room for the brig to pass ahead. Lieut. Turner put his helm up in the most dashing manner, and continued to near the enemy, until he was closer to his line, perhaps, than the commanding vessel; keeping up as warm a fire as his small armament would allow. The *Niagara* now became the vessel next astern of the *Lawrence.*

The wind falls.

The effect of the cannonade was necessarily to deaden the wind, and for nearly two hours there was very little air. During all this time, the weight of the enemy's fire continued to be directed at the *Lawrence;* even the *Queen Charlotte,* having filled, passed the *Hunter,* and got under the stern of the *Detroit,* where she kept up a destructive cannonade on this devoted vessel. The effect of these united attacks, besides producing a great slaughter on board the *Lawrence,* was nearly to dismantle her, and, at the end of two hours and a half, agreeably to Capt. Perry's report, the British vessels having filled, and the wind beginning to increase, the two squadrons moved slowly ahead, the *Lawrence* necessarily dropping astern and partially out of the combat. At this moment the *Niagara* passed to the westward, a short distance to windward of the *Lawrence,* steering for the head of the

The *Lawrence* suffers heavy losses.

enemy's line, and the *Caledonia* followed to leeward.

The rear vessels come up.

The vessels astern had not been idle, but, by dint of sweeping and sailing, they had all got within reach of their guns, and had been gradually closing, though not in the prescribed order. The rear of the line would seem to have inclined down toward the enemy, bringing the *Trippe,* Lieut. Holdup, so near the *Caledonia,* that the latter sent a boat to her for a supply of cartridges.

Captain Perry goes on board the *Niagara.*

Capt. Perry, finding that the *Lawrence* had been rendered nearly useless by the injuries she had received, and was dropping out of the combat, got into his boat and pulled after the *Niagara,* on board of which vessel he arrived at about half-past two. Soon after, the colors of the *Lawrence* were hauled down, that vessel being literally a wreck.

Captain Elliott takes charge of the *Somers.*

After a short consultation between Capts. Perry and Elliott, the latter volunteered to take the boat of the former, and to proceed and bring the small vessels astern, which were already briskly engaged, into still closer action. This proposal being accepted, Capt. Elliott pulled down the line, passing within hail of all the small vessels astern, directing them to close within half pistol shot of the enemy, and to throw in grape and canister as soon as they could get the desired positions. He then repaired on board the *Somers,* and took charge of that schooner in person.

When the enemy saw the colors of the *Lawrence* come down, he confidently believed that he had gained the day. His men appeared over the bulwarks of the different vessels and gave three cheers. For a few minutes, indeed, there appears to have been a general cessation in the firing, as if by common consent, during which both parties were prepared for a desperate and final effort. The wind had freshened, and the position of the *Niagara,* which brig was now abeam of the leading English vessel, was commanding, while the gun-vessels astern, in consequence of the increasing breeze, were enabled to close very fast.

Both parties prepare for a final effort.

At a quarter to three, or when time had been given to the gun-vessels to receive the order mentioned, Capt. Perry showed the signal from the *Niagara* for close action, and immediately bore up, under his foresail, topsails, and top-gallant sails. As the American vessels hoisted their answering flags, this order was received with three cheers, and it was obeyed with alacrity and spirit. The enemy now attempted to wear round, to get fresh broadsides to bear, in doing which his line got into confusion, and two ships, for a short time, were foul of each other, while the *Lady Prevost* had so far shifted her berth as to be both to the westward and to the leeward of the *Detroit.* At this critical moment, the *Niagara* came steadily down, within half

Captain Perry signals for close action

pistol shot of the enemy, standing between the *Chippeway* and *Lady Prevost,* on one side, and the *Detroit, Queen Charlotte,* and *Hunter* on the other. In passing, she poured in her broadsides, starboard and larboard, ranged ahead of the ships, luffed athwart their bows, and continued delivering a close and deadly fire. The shrieks from the *Detroit* proved that the tide of battle had turned. At the same moment, the gun-vessels and *Caledonia* were throwing in close discharges of grape and canister astern. A conflict so fearfully close, and so deadly, was necessarily short. In fifteen or twenty minutes after the *Niagara* bore up, a hail was passed among the small vessels to say that the enemy had struck, and an officer of the *Queen Charlotte* appeared on the taffrail of that ship, waving a white handkerchief, bent to a boarding pike.

Effective work of the *Niagara.*

As soon as the smoke cleared away, the two squadrons were found partly intermingled. The *Niagara* lay to leeward of the *Detroit, Queen Charlotte* and *Hunter,* and the *Caledonia,* with one or two of the gun-vessels, was between them and the *Lady Prevost.* On board the *Niagara,* the signal for close action was still abroad, while the small vessels were sternly wearing their answering flags. The *Little Belt* and *Chippeway* were endeavoring to escape to leeward, but they were shortly after brought to by the *Scorpion* and *Trippe;* while the *Lawrence* was lying astern and to

NAPOLEON'S CUIRASSIERS AT WATERLOO

From the painting by Berkley

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windward, with the American colors again flying. The battle had commenced about noon, and it terminated at three, with the exception of a few shots fired at the two vessels that attempted to escape, which were not overtaken until an hour later.

Duration of the battle.

In this decisive action the two squadrons suffered in nearly an equal degree, so far as their people were concerned; the manner in which the *Lawrence* was cut up being almost without an example in naval warfare. It is understood that when Capt. Perry left her, she had but one gun on her starboard side, or that on which she was engaged, which could be used, and that gallant officer is said to have aided in firing it in person the last time it was discharged. Of her crew, 22 were killed and 61 were wounded, most of the latter severely. When Capt. Perry left her, taking with him four of his people, there remained on board but 15 sound men. For his conduct in this battle, Capt. Perry received a gold medal from Congress. Capt. Elliott also received a gold medal. Rewards were bestowed on the officers and men generally; and the nation has long considered this action one of its proudest achievements on the water.

The condition of the *Lawrence*.

The results of the victory were instantaneous and of high importance. The four smallest of the prizes were fitted as transports, and, the *Lawrence* excepted, the American squadron was employed in the same duty. The

Importance of the victory.

English had evacuated Detroit, and with it Michigan, and, on the 23d of September, the squadron conveyed a body of 1,200 men to the vicinity of Malden, in Upper Canada, of which place they took possession; and, on the 27th, Capt. Perry ascended to Detroit in the *Ariel,* and reoccupied that town, in conjunction with the army.

Detroit reoccupied.

THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON

(A.D. 1815)

SUTHERLAND MENZIES

THOUGH France was able to march a very large and powerful force into Germany early in the spring, new enemies had arisen in the meantime. The coalition confronted Napoleon with 500,000 soldiers, 1,500 guns, and a reserve, ready to bring into line, of 250,000 more. Two Frenchmen were in its ranks: the Prince Royal of Sweden, Bernadotte, and the victor of Hohenlinden, Moreau, who, at the invitation of the Empress of Russia, had returned from America to aim a deadly blow against his country. Nevertheless, Napoleon was still alert and intrepid. On May 2, 1813, he gained a victory over the Russians and Prussians at Lutzen. On the 20th and 21st, he gained another at Bautzen. The Emperor of Austria then proposed a mediation. An armistice was concluded on the 4th of June, and a congress assembled at Prague to take into consideration terms of peace. The terms proposed were, that the French Empire should be

The German campaign.

Austria joins the confederates.

bounded by the Alps, the Rhine, and the Meuse, and that the German States should be restored to their independence. These terms were positively rejected by Bonaparte, and the armistice terminated August 10. Immediately afterward Austria joined the confederates.

The French Emperor had upon the Elbe and under hand only 360,000 men; still, however, presuming too far upon his strength, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, and that his battalions were mostly filled by conscripts, he dared to threaten at one and the same time Berlin, Breslau, and Prague; which enfeebled him at his centre, at Dresden, where, however, in a great battle near that city on the 26th and 27th of August, Napoleon defeated the allies and compelled them to retreat. But while the great army of Bohemia was in disorderly flight across the mountains whence it had descended, Napoleon learned that Macdonald had just sustained a disaster at Katzbach (26th-29th of August), and that Oudinot had been beaten on the 23d at Gross-Beeren, upon his march to Berlin, and that Bavaria had joined the coalition. These bad tidings prevented him from following up in person the pursuit of the defeated army and overwhelming it. Vandamme, operating in Bohemia, but not being supported, was crushed at Kulm (30th of August), which nullified the victory at Dresden by leaving to

Battle of Dresden.

Kulm nullifies Dresden.

the Austrians the bulwark of the Bohemian Mountains, with the facility of issuing therefrom at will in order to turn the right of the French army. The defeat of Macdonald had lost Silesia and brought Blücher into Saxony; that of Oudinot and another sustained by Ney at Dennewitz (6th of September), in attempting to reopen the road to Berlin, allowed Bernadotte to reach Wittenberg, whence he joined hands with Blücher. Davout, who was already in the middle of Mecklenburg, where he had taken Wismar, was forced to follow the general movement of retreat beyond the Elbe. Thus, from Wittenberg to Tœplitz, the forces of the coalition formed a segment of a circle bristling with 300,000 sabres and bayonets threatening the front of the French, at the same time that its extremities made efforts to join ranks in the rear of Napoleon, with the intention of cutting off his return to France. Thus brought to bay, the French Emperor once again attempted to cut his way through the encircling enemy. On Napoleon concentrating his forces round Leipzic, that city being in the occupation of the French, the allied army was immediately formed into a crescent, having a single opening to the southwest, which they intended to fill up on the arrival of the Swedish army, under Bernadotte, and the Russian and Austrian divisions of Bennigsen and Colloredo. With such dispositions, Bonaparte resolved to stand the haz-

Loss of Silesia.

Napoleon brought to bay.

ard of a general engagement, and on the 16th of October was fought what the Germans have called the Battle of the Nations—a conflict the most murderous of modern history; 190,000 Frenchmen sustaining, during three days, the furious attacks of 133,000 allied enemies. The Saxons and Wurtemberg cavalry went over to the enemy upon the field of battle, and fired their cannon, already loaded with French balls, upon the French soldiery. So great was the vibration caused by the discharge of at least 1,200 pieces of artillery, that "the ground shook and reeled as with an earthquake." At the end of the third day's struggle, the reserves of the French artillery were exhausted, there remaining munitions for only 15,000 discharges, that is to say, for two hours' further combat; and the numbers of their enemies were incessantly increasing. As in 1812, the great captain was compelled to fall back without having been conquered, which voluntary retreat became a disaster; so, in 1813 also, that retreat involved a catastrophe only less calamitous than that of Moscow, because a less distance was to be crossed before he could reach a place of safety; and because he had not now to contend with the climate of Russia, or with the hardships of a rigorous season. Napoleon, with a view not to reveal too plainly his intentions, had not caused bridges to be thrown over the Elster and Pleisse; one only, long and narrow, had been

Battle of the Nations

A voluntary retreat

constructed at the divided branches of the two rivers. Therefrom arose a great obstacle to the crossing of the troops, delay, and then a fatal error. Soon after Napoleon had crossed, a miner blew up the Elster bridge before the last division of the army, with two marshals and many commanders of corps, had cleared it; so that 25,000 men were, in consequence, cut to pieces, taken prisoners by the allies, or drowned in the river. Macdonald swam across it; Lauriston and Reynier were made prisoners; the valiant Poniatowsky, after fighting bravely until the streets of Leipzic were strewn with the bodies of his soldiers, retreated toward the Elster; but, finding the bridge destroyed, he tried to swim his horse across the stream. But the bank being steep on the other side, the horse, in attempting to clear it, fell back on his rider, and both were drowned. Soon after the evacuation by the French, the two Emperors and the King of Prussia entered Leipzic, amid the acclamations of the grateful citizens (19th of October). On the 7th of November, Napoleon crossed the Rhine at Mentz, and two days afterward arrived in Paris.

Death of Poniatowsky.

Another period of war was about to scourge the nations of Europe. Yet the naked sword of vengeance was now visibly suspended over the head of that iron-hearted man, whose insatiable ambition still urged him to further sacrifice to it innumerable victims. Napo-

Campaign of 1814—Invasion of France.

leon had scarcely crossed the Rhine when the whole of the Rhenish confederacy abandoned him—an example soon followed by Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. The tide of war, which since the Revolution had overflowed Germany and the surrounding nations, was now rolled back on France itself. At the commencement of 1814, four armies invaded that country from different quarters, and advanced into the heart of France. On the 1st of January, Blücher crossed the Rhine with the Prussian army of the centre, that nation bringing into the field 130,000 men; the Austrians and Russians, advancing on the Swiss frontier, 150,000; Bernadotte with 100,000 by way of the Netherlands. At the same time the Austrians had another army in Italy. Murat, King of Naples, also joined the confederates, and Lord Wellington was already upon French territory with 80,000 English, Spaniards, and Portuguese. Finally, the German Empire placed on foot from 150,000 to 160,000 men, in eight divisions. Half a million of men, at least, therefore, were steadily about to hem in the French army, while the forces of the latter could not have amounted to so much as half the strength of its adversaries.

Napoleon still resourceful

Opposed by so many and such formidable foes, Napoleon appeared not to lose either his courage or his military genius. He disconcerted the allies by the rapidity of his move-

ments, and gained several brilliant successes; which, though they did not carry with them any lasting advantage, made his enemies still doubtful of the result. On the 29th of January, Blücher was attacked by Napoleon near Brienne so suddenly that he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. Negotiations for a peace were, however, commenced at Chatillon early in February, 1814; but the insincerity which marked the conduct of the French commissioners prevented them from coming to any conclusion. Napoleon had at length beaten his enemies into the art of conquering, so that while he was manœuvring in their rear, the Prussians and Austrians made a rush on Paris, which fell almost without resistance, capitulated (30th of March), and the Senate decreed the imperial crown forfeited, and the Empire fallen. Napoleon abdicated (11th of April), and Louis XVIII. was recalled from exile to ascend the throne of his ancestors. The ex-Emperor had assigned to him the island of Elba as an independent sovereignty, with a pension of two millions of francs. The Duchies of Parma and Placentia were settled on his wife and son.

Fall of Paris.

On the 4th of May, 1814, the white banner of the Bourbons replaced the tricolor of Austerlitz, and, on the 30th of the same month, Talleyrand, the real head of the provisional government, signed with the allies a convention, with the view of affording France the

The Peace of Paris.

benefits of peace before a regular treaty could be prepared. The allies, by their celebrated Declaration of Frankfort (1st of December, 1813), had announced their wish to see France great, powerful, and happy, because she was one of the corner-stones of the European system; and they agreed, therefore, to evacuate the French territory, according to the ancient limits of it, on January 1, 1792, but with some few additions, partly in the Netherlands, and partly in Savoy. The terms, indeed, were so highly favorable to France that the veteran Blücher, among some other provisions, protested vehemently but ineffectually against the French being allowed to retain the German provinces of Lorraine and Alsace. Thus vanished with the stroke of a pen the fruits of twenty years of bloodshed and conquest.

Congress of Vienna.

In order to settle the general affairs of Europe, it had been determined to assemble a Congress at Vienna, which was formally opened November 1, 1814. While the leading powers were thus endeavoring to restore Europe to its ancient system, an event occurred which threatened to render all their deliberations useless. Napoleon, escaping from Elba with 900 of his veterans, landed near Cannes, in the Gulf of Juan, March 1, 1815. The army everywhere declared in his favor, and almost the whole of the civil authorities readily acknowledging his cause, Napoleon was thus once more seated on his abdicated throne

by the most rapid transition known in history (20th of March). The news of this event fell like a thunderbolt among the statesmen assembled at Vienna. The allied powers agreeing unanimously that they would have neither peace nor truce with the violator of treaties, it became evident, therefore, that there must be another appeal to the sword, and both parties made the most gigantic preparations. The three allied sovereigns and the Prince Regent of England launched afresh 800,000 men against France, and placed Bonaparte under the ban of the nations.

The Hundred Days.

The usurper had tried to rally round him the liberals, by proposing institutions of a nature favorable to liberty, and similar to those of Louis's constitutional charter. But he clearly saw that his real strength lay in his army; and it was plain that if victory should restore his authority, all the national and civil institutions would again bend before his will.

The campaign of Four Days.

About the middle of April, Blücher marched into the Netherlands and established his headquarters at Liège, and early in June he found himself at the head of an army of 117,000 men, with which he occupied the country between the Sambre and the Meuse, while the Duke of Wellington, with 100,000, occupied the whole of Flanders from Brussels to the sea. Napoleon, with his characteristic decision and promptitude, put himself at the head of 150,000 selected troops, and rap-

idly advanced against the Prussians. In the afternoon of the 16th, Napoleon, with 124,000 men, advanced to attack Blücher's position at Ligny. The Prussians fought with their accustomed bravery, and for five hours maintained their ground; but at about seven o'clock in the evening, a vigorous charge, led by Napoleon in person, threw their infantry into irretrievable disorder. Blücher, at the head of his light cavalry, now attacked the heavy French dragoons; but as he galloped forward, cheering on his men, his horse, struck by a cannon-ball, fell to the ground, crushing the rider beneath its body. The remnant of his army retreated in tolerable order, and left no trophy to the enemy but the field of battle. On the same day, at Quatre Bras, Marshal Ney had a severe struggle with the English, under the Prince of Orange, in which neither party gained complete superiority. In this action the Duke of Brunswick was killed—the son of that duke who had commanded the Prussian army in the war which broke out at the commencement of the Revolution. Both these actions are memorable as the precursors of the decisive battle which followed on the 18th, at Waterloo, and which terminated forever Napoleon's eventful career. Never, perhaps, was any defeat more bloody or more disastrous than that which he was there destined to sustain. He had issued his orders, and viewed the battle from a convenient dis-

Battle of Ligny.

Marshal Ney at Quatre Bras.

Waterloo.

tance; and an officer who stood near him affirmed that "his astonishment at the resistance of the British was extreme; his agitation became violent; he took snuff by handfuls at the repulse of each charge." At last, he took the officer by the arm, saying, "The affair is over —we have lost the day—let us be off!" In this heartless manner, and thinking only of himself, Napoleon abandoned an army which was wholly devoted to him. Such was that campaign of four days.

The defeated Emperor reached Paris on the 20th of June, and again abdicated in favor of his son (22d). On the 29th he set out for Rochefort, in the hope of escaping to America; but, finding that it was impossible to baffle the vigilance of the English cruisers, he surrendered himself to Captain Maitland, of the *Bellerophon*. When the allies were informed of this event, they decided that he should be sent as a prisoner to the Island of St. Helena, in the Southern Atlantic. There he died (5th of May, 1821). Napoleon abdicates.

The advance of the allied army on Paris was unobstructed, and, altogether, a victorious march. On the 7th of July the city surrendered, and on the 8th, Louis XVIII. re-entered it. Return of Louis XVIII.

Thus closed finally that succession of revolutions which had distracted Europe for a period of twenty-five years. Peace was again restored nearly on the basis of the treaty which

had been contracted the year before, but with some resumption of territory by the allies on the frontiers of the Netherlands, of Germany, and of Savoy, all the provinces of Germany being restored which had belonged to her before the Revolution, and had been torn from her during the wars that followed it. It was also provided that an allied army of 150,000 men should occupy, for the space of three or five years, a line of fortresses from Cambray to Alsace; the possession of which would enable them, in any case of necessity, to march upon Paris without opposition. This army was to be maintained wholly at the expense of France, and France agreed also to pay 700,000,000 of francs, to be divided in different portions among the allied powers, as a partial indemnification for the expenses of this last contest. The definitive treaty was signed at Paris on the 20th of November, 1815.

France loses her conquests.

Treaty of Paris.

WESTERN EUROPE AND THE HOLY ALLIANCE

(A.D. 1815—1825)

RICHARD LODGE

ENGLAND had done more than any other country to crush the power of Napoleon, but in the eyes of Europe it was Russia that had contributed most to his final overthrow. The story of the French invasion and of the burning of Moscow had fascinated men's minds and given them a profound impression of the invincible strength of the great Eastern Empire. Alexander I. found himself the greatest of living sovereigns and elevated to a kind of European dictatorship. He became impressed with the idea that he had a divine mission to restore peace and order to the world, and his enthusiastic temperament gave way to the impulses of religious superstition. He fell under the influence of the Baroness Krudener, a native of Riga, with whom he spent several hours of each day in prayer and consultation. At her instigation he drew up the plan of the famous Holy Alliance, to which he obtained the assent of the rulers of Austria and Prussia on

Importance of Russia.

The Holy Alliance.

the 26th of September, 1815. The three monarchs solemnly announced their intention of regulating their foreign and domestic policy by the precepts of Christianity, and declared that they would rule justly, promote brotherly love among their subjects, and do all in their power to maintain peace. All princes, except the Pope and the Sultan, were invited to join the alliance, which was to introduce a new era into Europe, and to prevent the recurrence of such convulsions as that which had lately been experienced.

The Revolution's principles adopted.

The motives which were expressed in the preamble were sincere at the moment, but they were the outcome of an unpractical enthusiasm that was entirely out of date. The objects of the Holy Alliance were necessarily modified by circumstances. The Revolution had been apparently suppressed, but its principles survived, and to some extent they had been adopted by the conquerors. The French Empire had fallen before the power of the peoples, who demanded a share in the government as a reward for their dangers and exertions. The old system of personal and irresponsible rule seemed to be an anachronism, and was regarded as such even by the Russian Czar. Alexander I. promised a constitution to the vassal kingdom of Poland which the treaty of Vienna had subjected to him. Frederick William III. had made a similar promise to Prussia. More conspicuous still, the

allies had not only permitted, but had almost compelled, Louis XVIII. to give a charter to France. It seemed likely that before long every country in Europe would receive a constitution on the model of that of England, and that the people would be allowed a voice in the control of taxation and expenditure. But these liberal principles of Alexander and his colleagues were accompanied with important reservations. All these constitutional privileges were to be free grants from the sovereign, any attempt on the part of the people to enforce concessions was regarded as Jacobinism, and any tendency in that direction must be suppressed as endangering the tranquillity of Europe. It was obvious from the first that this presupposed an amount of contentment among the subject populations that did not exist. The arrangements of the treaty of Vienna had been in the highest degree artificial, and they could not be maintained without the employment of force. Before long the Holy Alliance abandoned its high-sounding professions and became simply a league of sovereigns against the people—a kind of European police to put down all liberal movements.

Jacobinism to be suppressed.

It was in Germany that the force of the reaction first displayed itself. In Austria, the old absolute government had not been shaken by the Revolution, and was continued without opposition. The Viennese were too careless

The reaction.

and pleasure-loving to desire liberties which involved labor, and the real danger to Austria, the national aspirations of the Bohemians and Hungarians, had not yet arisen. Francis I. was a cautious and not unpopular sovereign; and Metternich, an amiable *roué,* thought only of suppressing disorder during his own generation. *Après nous le déluge* was his favorite sentiment. The finances were so culpably mismanaged that the debt continued to increase in time of peace, and the State fell under the control of Jewish money-lenders.

Prussia's disappointment.

In Prussia, the ardent hopes that had been roused by the war of liberation were doomed to bitter disappointment. Frederick William III., well-meaning but weak, submissively followed the lead of Russia, and sought only to secure quiet to his exhausted country. Hardenberg, who remained chief minister till his death, broke off his connection with the reforming party and adopted the royal system. The promised constitution was withheld, and expressions of discontent were carefully suppressed. At the same time the administration was honest and efficient, which helped to prevent any outbreak. But Prussia lost the chance of assuming the leadership of Germany, and the lesser States, who were jealous of her influence, adopted a more liberal attitude as the reaction gained ground in Berlin. In Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Baden, Hanover, Brunswick, and other provinces, the rulers granted

constitutions on the model of the French Charter. But care was taken not to allow popular privilege to encroach upon prerogative, and the machinery of the Confederation was employed to suppress the slightest tendency toward liberal opinions. In 1817, a sensation was created by a grand meeting of German students at the Wartburg to celebrate the anniversary of the Reformation. Real alarm was professed two years later when Kotzebue, the dramatist, was assassinated by a student named Sand. The motive for the act was that Kotzebue was in correspondence with Alexander I., and was supposed to have warned him against the liberal spirit in the German universities. Metternich took advantage of this occurrence to hold a conference of ministers at Carlsbad, where it was decided to take active measures. The press was subjected to a rigorous censorship, the control of the universities was transferred to officials appointed by the government, and a commission was established at Mainz to examine into the supposed conspiracy and to punish the guilty. Metternich wished to utilize the opportunity to suppress the constitutions of the lesser States, but in this he was foiled.

Opposition to liberalism.

Assassination of Kotzebue.

Few princes have ever been placed in a more difficult position than that of Louis XVIII. after his second restoration in 1815. It is true that any open opposition was impos-

Difficulties of Louis XVIII.

sible as long as the allied troops remained in occupation of French soil; but the very fact that he owed his crown to foreign intervention was one of the great causes of his insecurity. Under these circumstances he took the wisest course open to him, and determined to conciliate the people by a punctilious observance of his engagements and by avoiding a revengeful and reactionary policy. But he found himself confronted by vehement opposition from his own family and his immediate followers. A royalist reaction had set in like that of 1660 in England. In the southern provinces the people rose and massacred the Bonapartists. In Paris, the emigrant nobles demanded the restoration of the old *régime* and the punishment of all who were connected with the recent Revolution. Louis XVIII. was determined not to yield to the solicitations of this party, or to adopt a policy which must inevitably lead to a new revolution as soon as the first force of the reaction was spent. But certain concessions had to be made, especially as the majority in the newly elected chambers was vehemently royalist. Talleyrand and Fouché were dismissed from the ministry, and their places taken by the Duc de Richelieu, who had won an honorable reputation in the Russian service as the founder and Governor of Odessa, and M. Decazes. Ney and several others, who had betrayed the monarchy on Napoleon's return, were tried and

Massacre of the Bonapartists.

Execution of Ney.

executed. Three laws were proposed and carried, to put down seditious cries, to authorize extraordinary arrests by the government, and to create special military courts for the summary trial of political crimes without the intervention of a jury. But here the government determined to stop; and when the majority of the Chambers demanded more extreme measures and clamored against the granting of an amnesty to traitors, Louis dissolved them. On the 5th of September, 1816, he issued an edict on his own authority, which made important changes in the system of representation. The number of deputies was reduced from 394 to 260, and the franchise, as settled by the Charter, was secured to all who paid 300 francs in direct taxes. The measure was a *coup d'état* in the liberal interest, and it was for the moment completely successful. The moderate party was in a majority in the new Chamber of Deputies, and the danger from the royalists was averted. But the change involved serious dangers in the future. A fifth of the Chamber had to be renewed every year, and it was almost certain that the new elections would be more and more liberal in their character.

A coup d'etat.

But at first this danger was overlooked, the ministry and the Legislature were in accord with each other, and a good opportunity seemed to present itself for freeing France from the expensive humiliation of its foreign

garrison. In 1817, a part of the allied troops was recalled and the moderation of Alexander I., who wished France to be strong enough to balance the other western powers, obtained a diminution of the indemnity which was to be paid before the occupation altogether ceased.

Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

In September, 1818, a great Congress of princes and ministers met at Aix-la-Chapelle. Here it was agreed that the occupation of French territory should entirely cease by the 30th of November, five years before the stipulated date. Next to the Czar, the chief advocate of this generous act was the Duke of Wellington, who had won universal respect as commander of the allied army. At the same time France was admitted to a share with the other great powers in regulating the affairs of Europe. By a treaty which was drawn up in November, the five powers, the "pentarchy," as they were called, pledged themselves to act in concord for the maintenance of European peace. In case of any disturbance, measures were to be concerted at a Congress, either of the sovereigns themselves or of their chief ministers.

Richelieu's troubles.

This signal diplomatic triumph seemed to give additional security to the ministry of Richelieu. But he was troubled by the increasing liberal majority in the Chamber of Deputies, and especially by the elections of 1818, at which Lafayette, Manuel, and Benjamin Constant were returned. He attributed

these disasters to the edict of September, 1818, which gave a majority of votes to the lower middle class; and he became convinced of the necessity of again changing the electoral law. As the King refused to recognize this necessity, Richelieu resigned in December, and Decazes became head of a purely liberal ministry. A number of popular measures followed. The censorship was abolished, and trial by jury was established for cases concerning the press. To prevent opposition from the upper chamber, the King consented to the creation of sixty new peers, nearly all of whom were men who had occupied important positions under the Empire. The royalists were in despair, and the Count of Artois maintained that his brother must have lost his senses. But Louis XVIII. soon discovered that even these enormous concessions had failed to conciliate the extreme liberals either to the crown or to the ministry. One of the chief causes of complaint was an agreement that had been made with the Pope, by which Napoleon's concordat was annulled, and the old concordat between Francis I. and Leo X. (1516) was restored. Decazes found himself attacked on both sides, and at last began to meditate some modification of the electoral edict of 1816. But while the matter was being discussed, an event happened which completely revolutionized French politics. On the 13th of February, 1820, the Duke of

Liberal measures.

Assassination of the Duke of Berry

Berry, second son of the Count of Artois, was assassinated by a man named Louvel. His death was the more important because his elder brother, the Duke of Angoulême, was childless, and it was to the Duke of Berry that men looked for a continuation of the royal line. He had been married in 1816 to Caroline Mary, granddaughter of the King of Naples, who was already the mother of a daughter, and who was pregnant at the time of her husband's murder. An irresistible royalist reaction now set in, Decazes had to resign, and Richelieu once more undertook the direction of affairs, with the support of the Right instead of the Left in the chambers. The censorship of the press was re-established and a new electoral law was introduced, which placed the election of half the deputies in the hands of the wealthy classes. The feeling in favor of the crown was increased by two events: the birth of a son, Henry, Duke of Bordeaux, to the Duchess of Berry, in September, 1820, and the death of the late Emperor at St. Helena on the 5th of May, 1821. In December, 1821, Richelieu, who found himself more and more out of harmony with the Ultras, resigned office for the second time, and was succeeded by Villèle, the recognized leader of the royalist party. From this time, Louis XVIII., whose energy declined with advancing years, and who fell under the influence of Madame du Cayla, practically re-

Royalist reaction.

Death of Napoleon.

signed his authority to the Count of Artois. Another change in the constitution, which abolished the annual election of a fifth of the deputies, and authorized the Chamber to sit for seven years, secured the victory of the reactionary party.

Nothing illustrates more clearly the wisdom of Louis XVIII. than a comparison of the policy pursued by another restored Bourbon, Ferdinand VII. of Spain. When Ferdinand was released by Napoleon at the beginning of 1814, Spain was still governed by the Cortes which had been created under the constitution of 1812. At first the King undertook to maintain this form of government, but, on arriving on Spanish soil, he discovered that the liberal administration was by no means popular among the peasants and was detested by the priests. Ferdinand was a worthless and incapable prince, who had learned nothing in his four years' captivity except an aptitude for lying and intrigue, and who was subject to two guiding passions, sensuality and superstition. From Valencia he issued an edict dissolving the Cortes and promising a new constitution in place of that of 1812. So strong was the reaction in favor of the monarchy, that this measure was hailed with applause, and the King entered Madrid in triumph. No sooner was he established on the throne than he threw his promises to the wind and restored the old absolutism with all

Policy of Ferdinand VII. of Spain.

His character.

its abuses. The nobles recovered their privileges and their exemption from taxes, the monasteries were restored, the Inquisition resumed its activity, and the Jesuits returned to Spain.

Persecution of the liberals.

All liberals and all adherents of Joseph Bonaparte were ruthlessly persecuted. The government was conducted by a *camarilla* of worthless courtiers and priests, who encouraged the King to fresh acts of reactionary violence. For six years this royalist reign of terror was continued, and the suppression of isolated revolts gave occasion for new cruelties. The finances of the country were in the most wretched condition, owing to the loss of the American colonies, which had taken advantage of Napoleon's conquest of Spain to establish their independence. Instead of trying to restore prosperity by maintaining peace, Ferdinand squandered large sums upon futile expeditions to recover the colonies. One of his expedients for raising money was the sale of Florida to the United States in 1819. Discontent in Spain found expression in numerous secret societies, for which the model was found in Italy. It was among the soldiers, neglected and ill-paid, that these societies found their most numerous and active adherents. At last, in 1820, the standard of revolt was raised at Cadiz by Riego and Quiroga, two officers of an expedition that had been prepared for South America. Vigorous action at the outset might have crushed the ris-

Sale of Florida to the United States.

ing, but Ferdinand and his advisers were as incapable as they were tyrannical, and before long the movement had spread over the whole country. In March, the King gave way and accepted the constitution of 1812. The royalists, the *serviles,* as they were called, were dismissed from office and their places taken by liberals. The Cortes met in July, and at once proceeded to dissolve the monasteries and the Inquisition, to confiscate the clerical tithes, to abolish entails, and to secure freedom for the press and for popular meetings. At first, the moderate party, headed by Martinez de la Rosa, endeavored to suppress disorder and to establish a durable constitutional government. But this the King was determined to prevent, and the moderates were defeated by a factious combination of royalists and radicals. Risings of the loyal and bigoted peasants in the provinces were suppressed, and contributed to the victory of the extreme party. In 1822, the election of Riego as president of the Cortes seemed to mark the final triumph of the Revolution in Spain.

Riego's rebellion.

The rising in Spain gave the signal for similar movements in other countries. Portugal, as being the nearest, was the first to feel the impulse. The Portuguese had many grievances to complain of. On the first invasion of Marshal Junot the royal family had fled to Brazil. When, in 1816, the death of Maria gave the crown to the former Regent, John

Revolution in Portugal.

VI., he continued to reside in Rio Janeiro as ruler of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves. The government of Portugal was intrusted to a Council of Regency at Lisbon. But the real power was in the hands of Lord Beresford, who remained commander-in-chief of the army after the conclusion of the war. The Portuguese were naturally indignant that their country should be ruled by a foreigner, and that it should be treated as an appendage of one of its own colonies. In August, 1820, the events in Spain encouraged a rising, for which a convenient opportunity was given by the absence of Beresford at Rio. A revolutionary junta was established at Oporto and speedily obtained adherents in the other towns. The Council of Regency was compelled to abdicate, and a constitution was introduced on the model of that of Spain. Lord Beresford was refused admittance to Lisbon and had to sail to England, but the government refused to interfere in the internal affairs of Portugal. At the same time the revolutionary movement spread to Brazil, where it found a supporter in the King's eldest son, Dom Pedro. The result was that John VI. had to resign the administration to his son, and with the rest of his family sailed to Lisbon, where he arrived on the 3d of July, 1821. Here he was compelled to accept the constitution which had been established in his absence. These events

Beresford's power.

Brazil separated from Portugal.

were followed by the formal separation of Brazil from Portugal. The Cortes at Lisbon was determined to reduce the powerful colony to its former dependence, and orders were sent to Dom Pedro to return to Portugal. The Prince, convinced that such a step would result in the loss of Brazil to the House of Braganza, refused obedience, and was supported by his subjects. In 1822, he was proclaimed Emperor of Brazil and adopted a constitution.

Brazil becomes an Empire.

In Italy, the House of Hapsburg had recovered even more than its old predominance by the treaty of Vienna. The instinct of self-preservation impelled Austria to do all in its power to crush the tendencies toward self-rule or national unity which had been aroused during the Napoleonic period. In the provinces of Lombardy and Venice a carefully organized system of espionage and police, with an active censorship of the press, reduced the people to dumb, if unsatisfied, submission. But for absolute security it was necessary that the other States of the Peninsula should pursue the same system, so that there should be no ground for jealous comparisons. This object was also obtained. The rulers of Parma and Modena obeyed the slightest hint from Vienna, and anxiously copied the Austrian administration in every detail. In Rome, Pius VII., and still more his successor, Leo XII., strove successfully to restore the old traditions

Austria in Italy.

of priestly rule. In Tuscany, Ferdinand III. allowed a certain freedom of thought and expression; and Florence became a refuge for men whose utterances were checked elsewhere. But the Grand Duke was too much of a Hapsburg to extend this liberty to politics; all popular institutions were suppressed, the police were as active as in Milan, and the people were encouraged to forget public affairs in a life of indolent pleasure. In Naples, the aged Ferdinand I. owed his restoration to Austria, and was thus compelled, even if he had not wished it himself, to suppress all liberal tendencies. One of his first acts on recovering his independence was to revoke the constitution which he had given to Sicily while he was under the guidance of the English admiral, Lord Bentinck. Any energy that was wanting to the King himself was amply supplied by his wife, Caroline, who constantly urged her husband to fresh precautions against revolution. But the province in which the reaction was most thoroughly carried out was Piedmont. During the French occupation, the King, Victor Emmanuel, had lived quietly in the island of Sardinia, completely untouched by all that was passing on the Continent. He returned to Turin with all the prejudices and prepossessions of a system that was thoroughly out of date. Regardless of the confusion and absurdity that was involved in such an act, he issued an edict which abol-

Florence a refuge for liberalism.

Reaction in Piedmont.

Return of Victor Emmanuel.

ished all laws and regulations introduced by the French, and restored the government as it had existed in 1770. Even the new roads were abandoned, and it was almost decided to destroy the bridge which Napoleon had built across the Po. As compared with the system pursued at Turin, the Austrian government of Milan appeared liberal and far-seeing. But liberal opinions survived in Piedmont and were nourished by the nearness of France. Among their adherents was a member of the royal house, Charles Albert, Prince of Carignano. As both Victor Emmanuel and his brother, Charles Felix, were childless, Charles Albert was the legitimate heir to the throne. But so strong was the reaction, that the idea was entertained of disinheriting him, and securing the succession to the Archduke Francis IV. of Modena, who had married a daughter of Victor Emmanuel, and whose reactionary principles were above suspicion.

Dynastic intrigues.

Although the government of the Italian provinces corresponded so exactly to the wishes of Austria, there was still some ground for uneasiness in the numerous secret societies which covered the whole country. The most important and active of these was the famous Carbonari, which eagerly watched for an opportunity of overthrowing foreign despotism and effecting the simultaneous union and freedom of Italy. The first opening for active

The Carbonari.

measures was given by the effect of the Spanish revolution in Naples, always closely connected with Spain by dynastic ties. Here, as in Spain, the movement originated with the army. The garrison of Nola raised the first cry for the Spanish Constitution, other troops followed the example, and General Pepé, a popular officer, assumed the lead of the rebellion. No semblance of resistance was made by Ferdinand I., who at once undertook to form a liberal ministry and to take the oath to the Constitution, of the provisions of which both he and the rebels were completely ignorant. In four days the revolution was accomplished without disturbance, and the King even went out of his way to express his gratitude to General Pepé and his determination to uphold the new system.

The revolution succeeds.

Very different was the course of events in Sicily, where the people hated the Neapolitans and wished to break off the connection between the two kingdoms. The news reached Palermo on the festival of St. Rosalia (July 14, 1820), the patron saint of the city. A wild tumult followed, in which a number of lives were lost, and the Governor and other officials escaped with difficulty. Envoys were sent to Naples to demand legislative independence and a free constitution. But the Neapolitans were indignant at the excesses that had disgraced the movement in Sicily, and were eager to maintain their hold over the island. An

Events in Sicily.

army was sent under Florestan Pepé, brother of the popular hero, to enforce obedience; and Palermo, after an obstinate resistance, was compelled to yield. Palermo submits.

The rapid spread of revolution in Europe inspired serious misgivings among the great powers, and impelled the Holy Alliance to show its true colors. Austria was especially alarmed by the movement in Naples, which threatened to overthrow its power in Italy; and Metternich convoked a congress at Troppau, in Upper Silesia (October, 1820), at which Austria, Russia, Prussia, France and England were represented. Neapolitan affairs were the chief subject of discussion, and it was soon evident that Austria, Russia, and Prussia were agreed as to the necessity of armed intervention. England made a formal protest against such high-handed treatment of a peaceful country; but as the protest was not supported by France, and England was not prepared to go to war for Naples, it was disregarded. The three allied powers decided to transfer the congress to Laybach and to invite Ferdinand I. to attend in person. The news of this decision made a profound impression in Naples, but the King was allowed to depart after he had made a solemn promise to adhere to the Constitution, and to defend it before the other sovereigns. During his absence the administration was intrusted to his son Francis, who proved to be as profound a Austria reduces Naples and Sicily. Duplicity of Francis.

master of deceit as his father. The question of principle having been settled at Troppau, there was no need for long discussions at Laybach. Ferdinand I. had no idea of observing his promises, and it was decided that an Austrian army should march into Naples to restore his authority. On the 5th of February 6,000 Austrian troops started from Lombardy under General Frimont. The Neapolitans determined to resist; but their leaders were divided, the inhabitants of the country were not devoted to the cause, and all patriotic efforts were impeded by the treacherous intrigues of the regent. Pepé was defeated in an engagement at Rieti and his troops deserted him. Without further opposition the Austrians entered Naples on the 24th of March. A small detachment was sufficient to reduce Sicily. Ferdinand I. took a terrible revenge upon his opponents; and those who were fortunate enough to escape the scaffold had to seek safety in exile.

Ferdinand takes revenge.

It was fortunate for Austria that no effective resistance was made by the Neapolitans, for directly after the departure of the troops from Lombardy a revolution broke out in Piedmont. It was effected by a combination of the liberals, who wished to establish constitutional government, with the officers of the army, who were anxious to free Piedmont from Austrian tutelage. The aged King, Victor Emmanuel, was unable to resist a

Piedmont revolts.

movement that appeared unanimous, and sought to evade the difficulty by abdicating in favor of his brother, Charles Felix (12th of March). As the latter was absent in Modena, the administration was intrusted to Charles Albert of Carignano. His first act was to proclaim the Spanish Constitution, and to appoint a new ministry, in which Santa Rosa, the leader of the military party, had a place. But at the same time he sent to Modena to justify these measures on the plea of necessity, and to profess his obedience to Charles Felix. The new King replied by condemning all that had been done, and expressed his intention of appealing for support to the Holy Alliance. On receipt of this answer, Charles Albert felt that his position was untenable, and fled to Novara, where he formally resigned his authority. At the same time Austrian troops crossed the Ticino and speedily suppressed the revolt. As Victor Emmanuel persisted in abdicating, Charles Felix ascended the throne and restored the old system, but without any of the cruelties that disgraced the reaction in Naples.

Victor Emmanuel abdicates.

Meanwhile the disorders in Spain continued, and a rebellion broke out in Greece against the Turks. In October, 1822, another European congress met at Verona to consider these matters. The French Government, which was now wholly in the hands of the royalists, maintained that any intervention in

Congress of Verona.

Spain must be undertaken by France, just as the intervention in Naples had been intrusted to Austria. A French army had been already drawn up on the frontiers, on the pretext that it was a necessary precaution against the yellow fever, which had broken out with terrible violence in Spain. Austria, Russia, and Prussia were inclined to distrust France, and favored the plan of a combined invasion by the allied forces of Europe. On the other hand, Canning, who had become foreign minister on the death of Castlereagh, sent the Duke of Wellington to Verona with instructions to protest against any armed intervention whatever. Ultimately the four powers determined to demand from the Spanish Government an alteration of the Constitution and greater liberty for the King. It was understood that in case of an unsatisfactory answer being received, France would take active measures with the authority of the other three States. As the Spanish ministers rejected the demand of the powers, all the ambassadors except the English envoy left Madrid, and the French army, 100,000 strong, entered Spain under the Duke of Angoulême (April, 1823). No effective resistance was made, and Madrid was entered on the 23d of May. But the Cortes had carried the King to Seville, and on the approach of the French they retreated to Cadiz. The last resistance was overcome by a bombardment of the city, and on the 1st of

Wellington's instructions

The French enter Madrid.

October Ferdinand VII. was released. His first act was to revoke everything that had been done since the beginning of 1820. The Inquisition was not restored, but the secular tribunals took a terrible vengeance on the revolutionary leaders. The Duke of Angoulême protested against these cruelties, but in vain. Even the fear of revolt, the last check upon despotism, was removed by the presence of the French troops, which remained in Spain till 1827. As a protest against this occupation, which he had been unable to prevent, Canning acknowledged the independence of the Spanish colonies.

French occupation of Spain.

Once more events in Portugal followed the example of those in Spain. For some time the reactionary party had been gaining in strength, and the news of French intervention in the neighboring country gave it an easy triumph. The Cortes, deserted both by the people and the army, dissolved itself, and absolute government was restored. John VI., a careless and easy-tempered ruler, wished to issue a general amnesty and to grant a new Constitution. But his wife, a sister of Ferdinand VII., and her second son, Dom Miguel, a monster of bigotry and cruelty, were determined to punish the conquered party. The King found himself a prisoner in his own palace, his favorite minister, Loulé, was murdered, and the Queen aimed at her husband's deposition and the elevation of Miguel to the

Murder of Loule.

throne. At last John VI. escaped to an English ship in the Tagus (May 9, 1824), and the people rallied to his cause. Miguel obtained his father's forgiveness, but retired to Vienna, whence he returned after John's death to bring further troubles upon his country.

For the time, the Holy Alliance had triumphed, and the revolutionary movement in western Europe seemed to be suppressed. But the resolute attitude which Canning had assumed at the Congress of Verona and in subsequent negotiations had broken up the pentarchy, and deprived the decisions of the other powers of the unity which was necessary for permanence. The death of Alexander I., in 1825, gave a final blow to a league which must either have crushed the growth of liberty in Europe, or have led to another continental war, not less general and destructive than that which had been aroused by the French Revolution.

Canning's opposition succeeds.

[In 1815, the Ionian Islands are formed into an independent Republic under British protection. General Jackson defeats the English at New Orleans. In 1816, La Plata separates from the Argentine Republic. The English Parliament buys the Elgin marbles. Lord Exmouth bombards Algiers, whose Dey is forced to abolish Christian slavery. The East India Company conquers Nepaul. In

Battle of New Orleans.

1819, the interference of soldiers in a reform meeting at Manchester causes the Peterloo massacre. Ali Pacha, of Janina, conquers the last of the Venetian possessions and reaches the height of his power. Spain gives up Florida to the United States. The Republic of Colombia is formed. In 1820, Thistlewood conspires unsuccessfully to kill the British Cabinet. George IV. attempts to divorce his wife Caroline, but abandons the project. Mehemet Ali conquers the Sudan and Kordofan.]

The United States gains Florida.

WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE

(A.D. 1821—1832)

W. ALISON PHILLIPS

THE attitude of European public opinion toward the Greek revolt at the beginning of the century is in strange contrast with the apathy of a generation which, at its close, is weary of the unsolved riddle of the Eastern Question, and jaded with full newspaper reports of countless massacres. The Western world still lay under the glamour of Byron's genius, and even the Levantine Greeks, seen through the rosy mist of romanticism, assumed Homeric proportions. Their meannesses were overlooked, their cruelty condoned or glossed over with a classical allusion. The sympathy of the churches went out to an uprising of persecuted Christians; and, from the political point of view, most important of all, liberal sentiment, gagged and bursting to express itself, welcomed the opportunity given "beyond the pale of civilization" by a people struggling to be free.

Influence of Philhellenic sentiment on the Greek war.

It is as easy to criticise the uncritical attitude

of the Philhellenes as it is to criticise that of the Emperor Francis on the other side when he said that the Greek revolt was "the work of agitators who do not believe in God." The fact remains that modern Greece owes her existence to a sentiment scarce to be understood by a generation which has begun to despise a classical education. Unaided, the Greeks must have succumbed. But soon, from all parts of Europe, money and volunteers were pouring into Greece. Old officers of Napoleon, like Colonel Fabvier, English officers like Colonel Gordon and Sir Richard Church, brought to the insurgents the help of their swords and of their rich experience. Byron himself came, prepared to give his life, as he had given his name, to the cause which he had made his own, and in which, in spite of grievous disillusionment, he nobly persevered to the end. Long before the Cabinets had made up their minds to essay the first tentative pluckings at the strands of the tangled knot, the public opinion of Europe had drawn the sword with which it was destined to be cut; and, long before the battle of Navarino, the complaint of the Reis-Effendi was not ill-founded that Turkey was fighting not Greece, but all Europe.

Foreign aid.

The result was due, in fact, largely to the infatuated policy of the Porte itself. The news of the massacres perpetrated by the Greeks produced at Constantinople, as was

natural, a wild cry for retaliation. Sultan Mahmoud, enlightened though he occasionally proved, was carried away by a paroxysm of rage. Strenuous exertions were made to fit out a force to crush the rising at its centre.

Infatuated policy of the Porte.

Meanwhile, as this would take time, the Sultan determined by a signal example to strike terror into the rebels. According to the law of the Ottoman Empire, the Orthodox Patriarch was responsible for the good behavior of his flock. On the morning of Easter Eve, then, April 22, a decree was issued deposing the Patriarch, and ordering the bishops to proceed at once to the election of a new head of the Church. The Synod, which met immediately after the morning mass, had no choice but to obey; and while the new Patriarch was receiving the investiture of his office, the venerable Gregorios, still in his sacred robes, was led out and hanged before the gates of his own palace. The body, after hanging for a day or two, was cut down, dragged by a Jewish rabble through the streets, and finally cast into the Bosphorus.

The Execution of the Greek Patriarch.

The execution of the Patriarch was "worse than a crime; it was a mistake." It was intended and taken as a gage of defiance flung down to all Christendom. So awful a crime as the murder of the Orthodox Patriarch could not, indeed, pass unnoticed by Russia; and the Russian ambassador and his staff were at once withdrawn from Constantinople.

Russia breaks off diplomatic relations.

A year had passed since the death of Gregorios when the long series of horrors culminated in the awful massacre of Chios (April, 1822), by which the whole of the most peaceful and the most prosperous community in the Archipelago was exterminated. The wholesale character of the crime produced a profound effect on European public opinion, now thoroughly aroused; and when, on the night of June 18, Kanaris steered a fire-ship into the midst of the Turkish fleet, and burned the flagship of the Capudan-Pasha with three thousand souls on board, all Christendom hailed the exploit as a glorious victory. Public opinion had, however, at that time, even in England, only an indirect influence on the governments. Foreign policy especially was still the affair of the Cabinets; and the turning-point in the fortunes of the Greeks was, not so much the awakening of the conscience of Europe, as the change produced in English policy by the accession to office of George Canning.

Massacre of Chios.

Metternich, who early in 1825 had made a flying visit to Paris and won over Charles X. to his views, declared through the Austrian plenipotentiary that the Court of Vienna would recognize only one of two alternatives —the complete subjection, or the complete independence of Greece. With the idea of a group of vassal states, he flatly refused to have anything to do; and Russia was equally averse

Attitude of Metternich.

from the setting up of a strong Greek state which might endanger her own influence. The result of the Conference was, then, no more than that, on March 13, it was resolved to offer a joint note to the Porte inviting it to accept the mediation of the Powers in the settlement of the Greek Question. Needless to say, in the absence of any threat of coercion, this proposal was indignantly rejected by the Ottoman Government.

The Sultan calls on Egypt for help.

For a while the silence between the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburg on the Eastern Question remained unbroken, each side awaiting the hour when a suspicious curiosity should lead the other to make the first advances. Canning was the earliest to succumb. The affairs of the East, indeed, had reached a crisis which made it impossible for the Powers any longer to look on with indifference. In the course of 1824, Sultan Mahmoud, realizing the impossibility of putting down the insurrection by his own unaided forces, had bent his pride to ask help of his vassal, Mehemet Ali of Egypt. In December, 1824, Ibrahim, to whom Mehemet Ali had intrusted the supreme command of the expedition, established his base in Crete, within striking distance of the Greek mainland. On February 24, 1825, he landed with an army of four thousand regular infantry and five hundred cavalry at Modon, in the extreme south of the Morea.

From this moment the whole aspect of the war was altered. The Greeks, who could cope well enough with the irregular Ottoman levies, were utterly unable to hold their own against Ibrahim's disciplined fellaheen. Before the year was out, in spite of isolated acts of heroism, the whole of the Peloponnese, save one or two strong places, was at the mercy of the invader, who was credited with the intention of deporting the Greek population and repeopling the country with Mussulman negroes and Arabs. Only the heroic defenders of the mud ramparts of Missolonghi, hard pressed by the Turks under Reshid Pasha, stood between the Greek race and destruction. And Ibrahim, as soon as his work in the Morea was complete, would march northward, and finish with his seasoned troops what Reshid had failed to achieve.

Ibrahim in the Morea, February, 1825.

It was under these circumstances that Stratford Canning, the newly-appointed ambassador at St. Petersburg, was authorized, in 1825, to propose to the Tsar a joint intervention of the Powers, still, however, with the old stipulation that Turkey should not be coerced.

England renews negotiations with Russia.

On July 6, 1827, the Protocol of St. Petersburg was converted into the Treaty of London, Austria and Prussia refusing to sign as a protest against the threat of force. By this instrument the three signatory Powers bound themselves to secure the autonomy of Greece, under the suzerainty of the Sultan, but with-

Treaty of London, July 6, 1827.

out breaking off friendly relations with the Porte.

The Treaty of London had been communicated to the French and English admirals at Smyrna on August 11. They were empowered to part the combatants by peaceful means if possible, by force if necessary. Admiral Codrington at once sailed for Nauplia, where the armistice was gladly accepted by the Greek Government. By the Turks, however, it was scornfully rejected; a naval expedition was fitted out to reduce the island strongholds of Hydra and Spezzia; while, at the same time, an Egyptian armada of ninety-two ships set sail from Alexandria, and before Codrington could intercept it succeeded in joining the Ottoman fleet in the Bay of Navarino (September 7). The fleets of all three Powers were now assembled; and the admirals held a council of war, at which it was decided to present another ultimatum to Ibrahim, demanding fresh securities, the return home of the Egyptian and Ottoman fleets, the cessation of hostilities on land, and the evacuation of the Morea. To this communication an evasive answer was returned; and Codrington, as senior admiral in command, decided to make a demonstration by entering the Bay of Navarino. A battle was not intended; but all precautions were taken in the event of one becoming inevitable. On the morning of October 20, the allied fleets, without interfer-

Greek Government gladly accepts intervention.

Battle of Navarino, October 20, 1827.

ence from the Turkish forts, sailed into the bay and took up positions opposite that of the Mussulmans. The refusal of the Turks to move some fire-ships which threatened the allied line led to an altercation, in which shots were exchanged, and the battle soon became general. Before nightfall Ibrahim's armada was completely destroyed.

Effects of the victory.

The effect of the battle of Navarino was immense. Ibrahim, indeed, in spite of the destruction of his fleet, still defiantly held out. But "for Europe," in the words of Metternich, "the event of October 20 began a new era." Nicholas, who regarded the victory of Navarino as a proof of the unity of the three Powers, proposed to follow up the blow by marching an army into the Danubian Principalities, and suggested that the maritime Powers should force the Dardanelles and compel the Sultan to agree to the terms of the Treaty of London.

Opening of the Russo-Turkish war.

The Russian army crossed the Pruth on May 6, 1828, the first stage in what all Europe believed would be a "military promenade" to Constantinople. But, once more, the "Sick Man" showed unexpected signs of vitality. Once more the incompetence of the Ottoman commanders was outbalanced by the bravery of their troops, and the intention of the Tsar to push the war to a speedy conclusion was far from being realized. It cost the Russians two hardly-fought campaigns before

Russia's hard task.

General Diebitsch was able to dictate terms to the Ottoman Government at Adrianople.

Greece made an autonomous state.

On November 16, 1828, a Protocol of the London Conference placed the Morea, with the neighboring islands and the Cyclades, under the guarantee of the Powers; and this agreement was followed on March 22, 1829, by a further Protocol, which, by extending the frontier to the line of Arta-Volo, included in Hellas a large part of continental Greece—which had meanwhile been cleared of the Turks by the expedition of Sir Richard Church to Acarnania—and also the important island of Eubœa. According to this arrangement, Greece was still to be a tributary state, but autonomous, and governed by a hereditary prince chosen by the Powers.

Even this Protocol, which was very far from satisfying the Greeks, had only been signed by Aberdeen with reluctance, and under conditions which, but for the pressure of events, would have made it abortive. But while the Powers were still hesitating and talking, the war in the Balkan peninsula, so full of surprises, came to a surprising end; and, on September 14, was signed the Peace of Adrianople, which marked another halting-place in the victorious advance of Russia in the East.

The Peace of Adrianople.

This result was itself due rather to the audacious genius of the Russian commander than to the fortunes of the war. Diebitsch, with an army of some thirteen thousand men,

had pressed on over the Balkans, leaving in his rear the unconquered armies of the Grand Vizier and the Pasha of Skutari. His strategy, though rash, was successful. With his rear to the Black Sea, of which Russia held the command, and his communications assured; with the range of the Balkans between himself and the Turks at Shumla, who were powerless to hurt him; and with nothing in front of him save the teeming but unwarlike population of Constantinople, Diebitsch held the Ottoman Power at his mercy. The Porte bowed to the inevitable, and on September 14, 1829, signed with Russia the Treaty of Adrianople. True to his undertaking, the Tsar stipulated for no territorial increase in Europe; but the Danubian principalities were erected into practically independent states, and so, presumably, more open to Russian influences than heretofore. The treaty rights of Russia in the navigation of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles was once more confirmed; and the affairs of Greece were arranged by the inclusion in the treaty of the terms of the Protocol which had been signed at the Conference of London on March 22.

Russia takes no territory.

The news of the Peace of Adrianople, and more especially of the fact that Russia, by including the March Protocol, had stolen the sole credit for the settlement of the Greek claims, produced something like a panic among the Powers. Wellington declared that

Consternation in Europe

the Turkish Power in Europe no longer existed, and that, this being so, it was absurd to talk of bolstering it up. In any case, since the Russian occupation of the principalities made Turkey to all intents and purposes a province of Russia, the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was no longer of supreme importance to England. Wellington, accordingly, was won over to Metternich's view, that Greece must be erected into a State independent of Turkey, and therefore independent of Russia; a State bound, moreover, by ties of gratitude, not to the Tsar, who had obtained for her no more than the terms which she had indignantly rejected, but to those Western Powers, from whom she was now to receive her liberty without conditions. On February 3, 1830, was signed, at London, a new Protocol embodying the views of the British Government. Its terms showed that England had not abandoned all hope that the moribund "sick man" might yet recover, and was reluctant to create a new Power which might imperil a consummation so devoutly to be wished. Greece, indeed, was to be erected into an independent State, under Leopold of Coburg, as "sovereign prince," but the generous frontiers of the March Protocol were again contracted, and, instead of the Greece of Pan-Hellenic dreams, a mere fragment of Hellas was restored to liberty. In recommending this settlement, it was the deliberate

Greece a sovereign state.

ntention of the British Government to leave Greece at the mercy of the Porte. Count Capodistrias, however, who since the period of the battle of Navarino had ruled Greece as practical dictator, refused to accept the Protocol of February 3, as he had rejected that of March 22. Prince Leopold, too, resigned his candidature, on the plea that his position would, under the terms of the Protocol, be intolerable. The Powers were compelled to make yet further concessions. Many reasons made a final and satisfactory settlement absolutely imperative. The Revolution in Paris, which hurled Charles X. from his throne, raised questions even more vital than the affairs of the East; and, in the face of these new problems, it was felt that any arrangement of the Greek Question would be better than none. Greece, meanwhile, had lapsed into a more hopeless anarchy than ever. Capodistrias, who at least had ruled with a firm hand, had been assassinated; and the whole country was now being harried and wasted by armed factions struggling for the mastery. It was found practically impossible to curb the anarchy by "instructions" from London; and the erection of a stable government became indispensable. In November, 1830, the Tory ministry of Wellington had been swept away by the rising tide of reform; and it was Palmerston who, in the name of the new Whig Cabinet, signed, on September

The Powers make further concessions.

Assassination of Capodistrias.

The Kingdom of Greece.

26, 1831, a Protocol conceding to the Greek State the frontier of Arta-Volo, for which he had pleaded when in opposition. The crown of Greece was, at the same time, offered to, and accepted by, Otho, second son of King Louis of Bavaria, a youth of seventeen. King Louis stipulated that his son should be King, and not Sovereign Prince, of Greece, and that an adequate loan should be guaranteed by the Powers to enable him to carry on the government. On May 7, 1832, more than a decade after the outbreak of the Greek revolt, the treaty was finally signed which added a new Christian Kingdom to the states' system of Europe. On January 28, 1833, Otho, first King of Greece, landed at Nauplia to attempt, with the aid of Bavarian officials and Bavarian mercenaries, the task of molding a race of Klephts and herdsmen into a civilized people.

MODERN ILLUMINATION

ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE

THE first illuminants were probably torches made of resinous woods, which will give a flame for a considerable time. Then the resin, exuding from many kinds of trees, would be collected and applied to sticks or twigs, or to some fibrous materials tied up in bundles, such as are still used by many savage peoples, and were used in the old baronial halls. For outdoor lights, torches were used almost down to our times, an indication of which is seen in the iron torch-extinguishers at the doors of many of the older West End houses; while, before the introduction of gas, link-boys were as common in the streets as match-sellers are now. Then came lamps, formed of small clay cups, holding some melted animal fat and a fibrous wick; and, somewhat later, rushlights and candles. Still later, vegetable oils were used for lamps, and wax candles; but the three modes of obtaining illumination for domestic purposes remained entirely unchanged in principle, and very little improved throughout the whole period of history down to the end of the Eigh-

Ancient illuminations

Greek and Roman lamps.

teenth Century. The Greek and Roman lamps, though in beautiful receptacles of bronze or silver, were exactly the same in principle as those of the lowest savage, and hardly better in light-giving power; and, though various improvements in form were introduced, the first really important advance was made by the Argand burner. This introduced a current of air into the centre of the flame as well as outside it, and, by means of a glass chimney, a regular supply of air was kept up, and a steady light produced. Although the invention was made at the end of the last century, the lamps were not sufficiently improved and cheapened to come into use till about 1830; and from that time onward many other improvements were made, chiefly dependent on the use of the cheap mineral oils, rendering lamps so inexpensive, and producing so good a light, that they are now found in the poorest cottages.

Improvements in candles.

The only important improvement in candles is due to the use of paraffin fats instead of tallow, and of flat, plaited wicks which are consumed by the flame. In my boyhood, the now extinct "snuffers" were in universal use, from the common rough iron article in the kitchen to elaborate polished steel spring-snuffers of various makes for the parlor, with pretty metal or *papier maché* trays for them to stand in. Candles are still very largely used, being more portable and safer than most

of the paraffin oil lamps. Even our lighthouses used only candles down to the early part of the present century.

A far more important and more radical change in our modes of illumination was the introduction of gas-lighting. A few houses and factories were lighted with gas at the very end of the last century, but its first application to outdoor or general purposes was in 1813, when Westminster Bridge was illuminated by it, and so successfully that its use rapidly spread to every town in the kingdom, for lighting private houses as well as streets and public buildings. When it was first proposed to light London with gas, Sir Humphry Davy is said to have declared it to be impracticable, both on account of the enormous size of the needful gas-holders, and the great danger of explosions. These difficulties have, however, been overcome, as was the supposed insuperable difficulty of carrying sufficient coal in the case of steamships crossing the Atlantic, the impossibilities of one generation becoming the realities of the next.

Gas-lighting.

Still more recent, and more completely new in principle, is the electric light, which has already attained a considerable extension for public and private illumination, while it is applicable to many purposes unattainable by other kinds of light. Small incandescent lamps are now used for examinations of the larynx and in dentistry, and a lamp has even

The electric light.

been introduced into the stomach by which the condition of that organ can be examined. For this last purpose, numerous ingenious arrangements have to be made to prevent possible injury, and by means of prisms at the bends of the tube the operator can inspect the interior of the organ under a brilliant light. Other internal organs have been explored in a similar manner, and many new applications in this direction will no doubt be made. In illuminating submarine boats and exploring the interiors of sunken vessels, it does what could hardly be effected by any other means.

Its multiple uses.

We thus find that, whereas down to the end of the last century our modes of producing and utilizing light were almost exactly the same as had been in use for the preceding two or three thousand years, in the present century we have made no less than three new departures, all of which are far superior to the methods of our forefathers. These are: (1) the improvement in lamps by the use of the principle of the Argand burner and chimney; (2) lighting by coal-gas; and (3) the various modes of electric lighting. The amount of advance in this one department of domestic and public illumination during the present century is enormous, while the electric light has opened up new fields of scientific exploration.

Three great improvements

Whether we consider the novelty of the principles involved or the ingenuity displayed in their application, we can not estimate this

advance at less than that effected during the whole preceding period of human history, from that very remote epoch when fire was first taken into the service of mankind, down to the time of men now living among us.

[In 1821, Brazil declares its independence and elects Dom Pedro Emperor. Peru, Guatemala, Costa Rica, La Plata, Uruguay and Venezuela also proclaim their independence, and the Republic of San Domingo is formed. In 1822, Iturbide becomes Emperor of Mexico. The United States recognize the independent colonies. In 1823, the Monroe Doctrine is formulated. In 1824, Bolivia is formed into an independent republic. In 1826, the mutinous Janizaries are massacred, leaving the Sultan without an army, which forces him to accept all the Czar's demands. Russia declares war against Persia. In 1828, Russia conquers Armenia and prohibits Persian ships on the Caspian. The Sultan preaches a Holy War, and the Czar captures Varna, Kars and Erzerum. The Gold Coast Protectorate is formed. In 1829, the King of Spain abolishes the Salic law on his fourth marriage. His brother, Don Carlos, protests, but a daughter, Isabella, is born to the King and recognized as his heiress. Western Australia is founded. In 1830, the Poles rise in Warsaw and massacre the Russians. French troops land in Algiers.]

The Monroe Doctrine formulated.

THE CONQUEST OF ALGERIA

(A.D. 1630—1857)

DAVID KAY

THE history of Algiers presents little calling for special notice down to the expedition of Lord Exmouth. The principal States of Europe had had their attention taken up with weightier matters; but on the establishment of the peace of 1815 the English sent a squadron of ships, under Lord Exmouth, to Algiers, to demand the liberation of all slaves then in bondage there, and the entire discontinuance of piratical depredations. Afraid to refuse, the Algerines returned a conciliatory answer, and released a number of their slaves; but no sooner had the ships left than they redoubled their activity and perpetrated every sort of cruelty against the Christians. Among other acts of cruelty, they attacked and massacred a number of Neapolitan fishermen who were engaged in the pearl fishery at Bona. The news of this excited great indignation in England, and Lord Exmouth was again despatched with five ships of the line and eight smaller vessels, and at Gibraltar he was joined by a Dutch fleet of

England demands the liberation of the slaves.

six frigates, under Admiral Capellen. They anchored in front of Algiers on the 26th of August, 1816. Certain terms, which were extremely moderate, were proposed to the Dey; but these not meeting with acceptance, a fierce bombardment was at once commenced. At first the assailants were subjected to a heavy fire from the enemies' batteries; but after a time these were one by one silenced, and ship after ship caught fire, till the destruction of the Algerine naval force was complete. Next day the terms proposed to the Dey were accepted; Christian slaves to the number of 1,211 were set at liberty, and a promise was given that piracy and Christian slavery should cease forever. The Algerines, however, did not long adhere to the terms of the treaty. They lost no time in putting their city in a more formidable state of defence than before, and this done, they considered themselves in a condition to set the great powers of Europe at defiance.

Bombardment of Algiers.

The Dey submits.

Various injuries had from time to time been inflicted on the French shipping, but that which more directly led to a declaration of war was an insult offered to the French consul by the Dey. A debt had been contracted by the French Government to two Jewish merchants of Algiers at the time of the expedition to Egypt; and the Dey, having a direct interest in the matter, had made repeated applications for payment, but without success. An-

The Dey insults the French consul.

noyed at this and at what he considered insulting language on the part of the consul, he struck the latter on the face in public. In consequence of this, a French squadron was sent to Algiers which took the consul on board and for three years maintained an ineffective blockade. At length war on a great scale was resolved on, and a fleet was equipped at Toulon in May, 1830, under the command of Admiral Duperré. It had also on board a land force, under the command of General Bourmont, consisting of 37,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and a proportionate number of artillery. The troops began to land on the 14th of June upon the western side of the peninsula of Sidi Ferruch, in the Bay of Torre Chica. They did not meet with much opposition till the 19th, when a general attack was made upon them by a force of from 40,000 to 50,000 men. These, after a fierce conflict, were completely routed. They renewed their attack on the 24th and 25th, but were on both occasions repulsed. The French then advanced upon Algiers, and on the 29th the trenches were opened. On the morning of the 4th of July, the bombardment commenced, and before night a treaty was concluded for the entire surrender of Algiers. The next day the French took possession of the town; and twelve ships of war, 1,500 brass cannon, and over £2,000,000 sterling came into their hands as conquerors. The Turkish troops were per-

France declares war.

Algiers surrenders.

mitted to go wherever they pleased, provided they left Algiers, and most of them were conveyed to Asia Minor. The Dey himself, with his private property and a large body of attendants, retired to Naples.

When the French undertook the expedition against Algiers a pledge was given to the English Government that they did not aim at the permanent possession of the country, but only at obtaining satisfaction for the injuries and insults they had received, and putting down that system of piracy which had so long outraged Europe. The French Government engaged that, these objects being accomplished, the final settlement and government of the country should be arranged in concert with the other European powers for the general advantage. Notwithstanding this, the French Ministry in 1833 publicly declared that it was the intention of their government to retain possession of Algiers and to colonize it. Subsequently, the English Government acquiesced in this, on receiving an engagement that the French would not extend their conquests beyond Algeria, either on the side of Tunis or of Morocco.

The French decide to hold Algiers.

The capture of Algiers was celebrated in France with great demonstrations of joy. General Bourmont was raised to the rank of marshal, and Admiral Duperré was promoted to the peerage. The revolution of 1830 followed, when Bourmont was deposed, and Gen-

Rejoicings in France.

eral Clausel appointed to succeed him. The conquerors, instead of attempting to gain the good-will of the natives, destroyed a number of their mosques, seized upon lands set apart for religious purposes, and attempted to introduce their own laws and usages in place of those of the country, the consequence of which was that the natives entertained the greatest abhorrence for their oppressors, whom they regarded as the enemies of God and their prophet. General Clausel incensed them still more by seizing upon the possessions of the Dey, the Beys, and the expelled Turks, in direct opposition to the conditions on which the capital had been surrendered. Bona was taken possession of, and an incursion was made into the southern province of Titterie, when the troops of the Bey were defeated and Mediah taken. The Beys of Titterie and Oran were deposed, and tributary rulers set up in their room. Still the war continued. The French were incessantly harassed by irruptions of hordes of the Arabs, so that no Frenchman was safe, even in the vicinity of the town; and little reliance could be placed on the fidelity of the Beys who governed the provinces. Mediah was evacuated, and Oran abandoned. In February, 1831, General Berthezene was appointed commander-in-chief, and undertook several expeditions into the interior to chastise the hostile troops, but met with little success. In October, Bona was sur-

French oppression.

War continues.

rounded and taken by the Kabyles. There was now no safety but in the town of Algiers; agriculture was consequently neglected, and it was necessary to send to France for supplies of provisions and for fresh troops. In November, 1831, General Savary, Duc de Rovigo, was sent out with an additional force of 16,000 men. The new governor sought to accomplish his ends by the grossest acts of cruelty and treachery. One of his exploits was the massacre of a whole Arab tribe, including old men, women, and children, during night, on account of a robbery committed by some of them. He also treacherously murdered two Arab chiefs whom he had enticed into his power by a written assurance of safety. These proceedings exasperated the natives still further against the French, and those tribes that had hitherto remained quiet took up arms against them.

French reinforcements needed.

About this time Abd-el-Kader first appears upon the field. His father, a Marabout, had collected a few followers, and attacked and taken possession of the town of Oran. On this they wished to elect him as their chief, but he declined the honor on account of his great age; and recommended his son, who, he said, was endowed with all the qualities necessary to success. Abd-el-Kader was born about the beginning of 1807, and had early acquired a great reputation among his countrymen for learning and piety, as he was also distinguished

Abd-el-Kader.

among them for skill in horsemanship and other manly exercises. He had made two pilgrimages to Mecca in company with his father, once when a child and again in 1828, by which he obtained the title of *Hadji*. At this time he was living in obscurity, distinguished by the austerity of his manners, his piety, and his zeal in observing the precepts of the Koran. He collected an army of 10,000 horsemen, and, accompanied by his father, marched to attack Oran, which had been taken possession of by the French. They arrived before the town about the middle of May, 1832, but after continuing their attack for three days with great bravery they were repulsed with considerable loss. This was followed by a series of conflicts, more or less severe, between the parties; but without any permanent or decided advantage to either side. In March, 1833, the Duc de Rovigo was obliged on account of his health to return to France, and General Avisard was appointed interim governor; but the latter dying soon after, General Voirol was nominated his successor. Abd-el-Kader was still extending his influence more and more widely among the Arab tribes; and the French at last considered it to be their interest to offer him terms of peace. A treaty was accordingly concluded with him by General Desmichels, Governor of Oran, in February, 1834, in which he acknowledged the supremacy of France, and was recognized by

Attack on Oran.

Abd-el-Kader's power increases.

them as Emir of the province of Mascara. One of the conditions of the treaty was that the Emir was to have a monopoly of the trade with the French in corn. This part of the treaty was regarded with great dissatisfaction at home, and the General was removed from his post. In July, General Drouet d'Erlon was sent out as Governor-General of the colony. An intendant or head of the civil government was also appointed, as well as a commissary of justice at the head of the judicature. Tribunals of justice were also established, by which both French and natives were allowed to enjoy their respective laws. From the tranquil state of the country at this time, the new governor was enabled to devote his attention to its improvement. The French, however, soon became jealous of the power of the Emir, and on the pretence that he had been encroaching on their territory, General Trezel, who had succeeded Desmichels in the Governorship of Oran, was sent against him with a considerable force. The armies met at the river Makta, and the French were routed with great slaughter on the 28th of June, 1835. On the news of this defeat, Marshal Clausel was sent to Algiers to succeed Count d'Erlon. In order effectually to humble the Emir, he set out for his capital, Mascara, accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, at the head of 11,000 men. On reaching the town the French found it deserted, and, having set it on fire, they re-

Temporary tranquillity

French defeat at Makta.

Defeat of Abd-el-Kader.

turned without having effected anything of consequence. In January, 1836, Marshal Clausel undertook an expedition against Tlemcen, which he took and garrisoned. Soon after this the Emir attacked and put to flight a body of 3,000 men under Count d'Arlanges on the Tafna. General Bugeaud, who had succeeded Marshal Clausel, attacked the Arabs under Abd-el-Kader on the Sikak River, 6th July, 1836, and gained a complete victory over them. An expedition against the Bey of Constantine was next resolved on, and Marshal Clausel, at the head of 8,000 men, set out from Bona for this purpose in November, 1836. They encountered on their march a severe storm of hail and snow, followed by a sharp frost, so that many of them died; and when they arrived before the walls of the town they were unable to undertake the siege, and effected their retreat with difficulty. The French were now anxious to conclude a peace with Abd-el-Kader, and with this view General Bugeaud arranged a meeting with him on the banks of the Tafna, and a treaty was signed, 30th of May, 1837. They were

Treaty of 1837.

then free to turn their strength against the Bey of Constantine, and an army of 20,000 men set out from Bona with this object, under the command of General Damrémont, early in October. The town was, after a very gallant defence, taken by storm on the 12th of that month by General Valée, General Damré-

mont having been killed by a cannon-ball the previous day. On the capture of the city the neighboring tribes hastened to make their submission to the conquerors, and a strong garrison being left to defend the town, the army returned to Bona. As a reward for his services, General Valée was made a marshal and appointed governor-general of the colony. Disputes with the Emir as to the boundaries of his territory were frequent, and at length war was again declared between the parties. The immediate cause of war on this occasion was the marching of an armed force of French troops through the Emir's territory. This the latter looked upon as an infringement of the treaty, and consequently declared war. In October, 1839, he suddenly fell upon the French troops in the plain of Metidja, and routed them with great slaughter, destroying and laying waste the European settlements. He surprised and cut to pieces bodies of troops on their march; outposts and encampments were taken by sudden assault; and at length the possessions of the French were reduced to the fortified places which they occupied. On the news of these events reaching France, reinforcements to the amount of 20,000 men were sent out. The spring campaign was vigorously opened on both sides, and numerous skirmishes took place, but without decisive results to either party. The French were, indeed, everywhere successful in the field, but the scattered

The Emir defeats the French.

France sends reinforcements.

troops of the enemy would speedily reassemble and sweep the plains, so that there was no safety beyond the camps and the walls of the towns. The fort of Masagran, near Mostaganem, with a garrison of only 123 men, gallantly withstood a fierce attack by 12,000 to 15,000 Arabs, which lasted for three days. Marshal Valée was now recalled and General Bugeaud appointed to succeed him. The latter arrived at Algiers on the 22d of February, 1841, and adopted a new system, which was completely successful. He made use of movable columns, radiating from Algiers, Oran, and Constantine, and having from 80,000 to 100,000 troops at his disposal, the result soon told against the Emir. Many of the Arab tribes were thus intimidated or brought under subjection, hard-pressed garrisons were relieved and victualled, and town after town taken. Tekedemt, the principal stronghold of Abd-el-Kader, was destroyed, and the citadel blown up; Mascara was taken; and Saida, the only remaining fortress in the possession of the Emir, was entirely demolished. In January, 1842, the town of Tlemcen was taken, and ten days afterward the fort of Tafna, which was demolished. The terrified Arabs submitted on all sides, and now almost the entire country was subdued. The Emir himself, driven to extremities, was compelled to take refuge in Morocco. Here he succeeded in raising a considerable force, and returned to

Defence of Masagran.

Successive French triumphs.

Algeria. He made up for the want of troops by the rapidity of his movements, and would suddenly make an attack on one place when he was supposed to be in quite an opposite quarter. In November, 1842, the Duke of Aumale arrived in Algiers to take part in the operations against the Emir; and in the spring of the following year he suddenly fell upon the camp of Abd-el-Kader while the great body of his troops was absent and took several thousand prisoners and a large booty, the Emir himself making his escape with difficulty. Not long afterward the latter again took refuge in Morocco, and so excited the fanatical passions of the people of that country that their ruler was forced into a war with France. The army which was sent into Algeria was attacked and defeated by Bugeaud at the river Isly, 14th August, 1844. The Emperor of Morocco soon afterward sued for peace, which was granted him on condition that he should no longer succor or shelter the Emir, but aid in pursuing him. Abd-el-Kader was now reduced to great extremities, and obliged to take refuge in the mountain fastnesses, whence he would from time to time come down to annoy the French. In June, 1845, a tribe of Arabs, who were being pursued by a body of French troops under General Pelissier, took refuge in a cave. As they refused to surrender, the general ordered a fire to be kindled at the mouth of the cave, and

Morocco incited to war.

The affair of the cave.

the whole of those within, men, women, and children, to the number of 500, were suffocated. The Emir at length was brought to such straits that he agreed to deliver himself up to the French on being allowed to retire to Alexandria or St. Jean d'Acre. Notwithstanding this promise, which was given by General Lamoricière, and ratified by the governor-general, he was taken to France, where he arrived on the 29th of January, 1848; and was imprisoned first in the castle of Pau, and afterward in that of Amboise, near Blois. In October, 1852, Louis Napoleon, then President of the French Republic, gave him his liberty on condition that he should not return to Algeria, but reside at Brousso in Asia Minor. Here he remained until 1855, when, in consequence of the destruction of that town by an earthquake, he obtained permission to remove to Constantinople, and afterward to Damascus. At the latter place he rendered valuable aid to the Christians by protecting them during the massacre by the Turks in Syria in 1860.

Treatment of Abd-el Kader.

[In 1831, after heroically defending Grochow, Warsaw, and Cracow, thousands of Poles are sent to Siberia. Mehemet Ali invades Syria; Ibrahim besieges Acre. In 1832, the Reform Bill becomes law. It abolishes 56 boroughs, and reduces 30 to one member each. Sixty-five seats are given to counties,

22 towns receive two each, and 21, one each. The French conquer Antwerp. Otto of Bavaria accepts the Greek crown. The Sultan declares war against Mehemet Ali, who has conquered Acre, but who is defeated. In 1833, all the German States adopt the Zollverein. Ferdinand of Spain dies; Isabella, aged three, becomes Queen, with her mother, Cristina, as Regent. This arrangement is recognized by England and France, but Don Carlos, supported by the Church and the Basques, claims the crown. Cristina gains the Liberals by establishing two elective chambers. Russia forces Mehemet Ali to cease hostilities, but he receives the government of Syria and Egypt. In 1834, Mazzini founds Young Europe and organizes a raid into Savoy. The Carlist War begins, the Basques supporting Don Carlos. In 1835, the life of the King of France is attempted by Fieschi, and consequent repressive laws regarding the press and political trials are passed. The Carlists gain ground. The Sultan regains power in Tripoli. In 1836, Louis Napoleon fails to excite a rising at Strasburg and is exiled to America. France and Austria force Switzerland to expel all political refugees. A body of Boers trek from Cape Colony and settle in Natal. They subdue the Zulus. In 1837, Victoria succeeds her uncle on the throne of England, and Hanover passes to another uncle, the Duke of Cumberland.]

Mazzini founds Young Europe.

Victoria becomes Queen of England.

THE BEGINNING OF FREE TRADE

(A.D. 1838—1842)

ROBERT MACKENZIE

IN 1776, Adam Smith, a Glasgow professor, published a book on the *Wealth of Nations*. In this book he argued with irresistible force that it was an exceedingly foolish thing for a nation to make the commodities which it consumed artificially dear, in order to benefit the home producers of these articles. William Pitt read the *Wealth of Nations* with care. The reasonings of the wise Scotchman were an economical revelation to the great minister. It is certain that he intended to embody them in his own commercial policy, and the era of Free Trade seemed about to dawn. The Man had come, but not the Hour. Pitt was drawn, reluctantly at first, into the war with France, and the opportunity of commercial reform was never given to him again. Henceforth, during all his life and for years after, enormous war expenditure compelled the indiscriminate levy of taxes, without regard to any result but the immediate possession of money. Pitt's mantle did not fall on

Wealth of Nations.

his successors in office, nor even upon his great rival. Fox owned frankly that he could not understand Adam Smith.

The protected interests—the landlords, the farmers, and the shipowners—were naturally blind to the mischief wrought by protection. But the classes whose business it was to manufacture and to distribute commodities were quick to discover the evils of a system which limited consumption by making commodities artificially dear. The mercantile class was now becoming powerful by wealth and intelligence, and, although yet scarcely represented in the Legislature, was able to command respectful attention to its wants. The merchants of Great Britain were first to perceive that restriction was injurious to the nation; and the merchants of London, in a petition to the House of Commons, were the first to give forth an authoritative condemnation of the system.

Evils of protection.

Under the influence of Mr. Huskisson (1823-24), various steps in the direction of a Free Trade policy were taken. A preference for unrestricted commercial intercourse continued steadily to gain ground in all parts of the country. In 1836, and for two or three succeeding years, the harvest was defective, and much suffering prevailed. Enough had been said about freedom of trade to guide the hungry people to monopoly as the origin of their sorrows. Supported by a growing con-

The merchants condemn it.

The Anti-Corn Law League.

cord of opinion in all the cities, an Anti-Corn Law League was formed in Manchester (1838), and an organized agitation was begun such as no government could long resist.

Richard Cobden.

The soul of the Free Trade agitation was Richard Cobden. When Cobden, at the opening of his career, surveyed the abuses of his time, that he might determine where his service could be most usefully bestowed, he had almost chosen to devote himself to the cause of education. But he saw that the masses of the people were kept poor by unjust laws, and he knew that poverty brings moral degradation. Material welfare, he believed, was the indispensable foundation of moral progress; or as Sir Robert Peel expressed it after his conversion to Free Trade—"I am perfectly convinced that the real way to improve the condition of the laborer, and to elevate the character of the working-classes of this country, is to give them a command over the necessaries of life." He chose freedom of trade as his life-work; he chose John Bright as his fellow workman.

John Bright

The Anti-Corn Law League applied itself to its task with energy unsurpassed in the annals of political agitation. The wealthy mercantile class supplied lavishly the funds required. Tracts were circulated by the million. Skilled lecturers overran the country. The speeches of Cobden and Bright in Parliament and elsewhere were universally read,

and lodged in all impartial minds the conviction that restriction of commerce was at once impolitic and unjust.

In 1845, Sir Robert Peel was at the head of a Conservative government, the supporters of which understood that it was pledged to defend the monopoly of the landed interests. Sir Robert had been forced to make concessions to the Free Trade party. He had modified somewhat the duties on corn, and he reduced or abolished duties on seven hundred and fifty other articles which were taxed by the intolerable tariff of the time. But these concessions, so far from being accepted by the free-traders, merely stimulated them to greater efforts.

Sir Robert Peel.

The summer had been ungenial, and during the autumn months rain fell unceasingly. In August, an alarm was whispered as to the condition of the Irish potato crop. There was a daily interchange of notes between Sir Robert and his Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, who was then at Netherby. Peel's tone was one of deep and ever-deepening alarm. His reports from Ireland, which had been from the first gloomy, soon became tragical from the intensity of the peril which they disclosed. The entire potato crop was rapidly perishing, and still the pitiless rain fell incessantly. The people of Ireland were visibly to suffer loss of their whole supply of food for the approaching winter. The grain

Failure of the potato crop in Ireland.

crops of England and Scotland were seriously injured too. Winter was at hand. The supply of food was miserably insufficient, and laws were in force which must have the effect of keeping it so.

Suspension of the Corn Law considered.

Sir Robert Peel summoned his Cabinet to the consideration of these appalling circumstances. He would not incur the guilt of maintaining laws which within a few weeks must inflict the horrors of famine upon the people. The corn law must be, at the very least, suspended. But if suspended, there was no prospect, in the present temper of the public mind, that it could ever be reimposed. He preferred, therefore, that it should be at once repealed.

He failed to convince some of his colleagues, and therefore resigned. But there was no other man in England strong enough to guide the nation in this hour of danger. Peel was recalled, and surrounded himself with men who were in full sympathy with his views. He proposed the total repeal of the corn law (January 19, 1846). A fierce contest in the House of Commons ensued, in which Mr. Disraeli earned fame and the leadership of the Tory party by his envenomed resistance to the measure. But Peel triumphed by a majority of 327 to 229. The House of Lords received ungraciously a measure which was deemed adverse to the interests of the landed class. But the Duke of Well-

Peel resigns and returns

ington was still the autocrat of that House, and his Grace, with a wisdom beyond that of his party, recognized and yielded to the inevitable. When peers who received their law from his venerable lips asked permission to vote against the bill, the duke said to them, "You can not dislike it more than I do; but we must all vote for it." They did vote for it in sufficient numbers to secure its enactment.

Immediately after, the Tories were able to avenge themselves on Peel, by so outvoting him that he at once resigned. His closing words, on leaving office for the last time, were very pathetic. After speaking of the hostility which he had aroused among defeated monopolists—"It may be," he said, "that I shall be sometimes remembered with expressions of goodwill in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labor and earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow. I trust my name will be remembered by those men with expressions of goodwill, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food—the sweeter because no longer leavened with a sense of injustice."

The measure is passed.

The corn law was the keystone of the protective system. When Free Trade in corn was gained, the other protected industries knew well that their hour was at hand. It was a vast work which the legislature had undertaken, and it was done boldly and swiftly. In 1842, there were twelve hundred ar-

Great work of the legislature.

Free Trade is gained.

ticles on which duty was levied at British ports. A few years later there were only twelve, and these were retained merely for revenue. The idea of affording protection by means of duties imposed on imported articles was now completely and finally abandoned. Henceforth the artificial regulation of prices was to cease, and the great natural law of demand and supply was to exercise its uninterrupted, and in the end universally beneficent, dominion.

[In 1838, Dost Mohammed receives a Russian mission at Cabul and Great Britain declares war. Mehemet Ali refuses to pay tribute to the Sultan, and demands that the Governorship of Egypt and Syria shall be hereditary. In 1839, Mehemet Ali gains many successes over the Turks. The Republic of

Republic of Honduras.

Honduras is proclaimed; a British army deposes Dost Mohammed and places Shah Soojah on the throne of Afghanistan. The Canton merchants have to surrender their opium and leave China, whereupon Great Britain declares war and Canton is taken. Aden also is annexed.]

THE OPENING OF CHINA

(A.D. 1839—1860)

JAMES LEGGE

IT was not till after the Cape of Good Hope was doubled, and the passage to India discovered by Vasco da Gama, in 1497, that intercourse between any of the European nations and China was possible by sea. It was in 1516 that the Portuguese first made their appearance at Canton; and they were followed at intervals of time by the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the English, in 1635. The Chinese received none of them cordially; and their dislike of them was increased by their mutual jealousies and collisions with one another. The Manchu sovereignty of the Empire, moreover, was then in the throes of its birth, and its rulers were the more disposed to assert their own superiority to all other potentates. They would not acknowledge them as their equals, but only as their vassals. They felt the power of the foreigners whenever they made an attempt to restrict their operations by force, and began to fear them. As they became aware of their conquests in the Philippines, Java, and India,

Intercourse and commerce with Western nations.

Arrogance of the Manchus.

they would gladly have prohibited their approach to their territories altogether. In the meantime trade gradually increased, and there grew up the importation of opium from India, and the wonderful eagerness of multitudes to purchase and smoke it. Before 1767, the import rarely exceeded 200 chests, but that year it amounted to 1,000. In 1792, the British Government wisely sent an embassy, under Lord Macartney, to Peking with presents to the Emperor, to place the relations between the two countries on a secure and proper footing; but though the ambassador and members of his suite were courteously treated, the main objects were not accomplished. In 1800, an imperial edict expressly prohibited the importation of opium, and threatened all Chinese who smoked it with condign punishment. It had been before a smuggling traffic, and henceforth there could be no doubt of its real character. Still it went on, and increased from year to year. A second embassy from Great Britain, in 1816, was dismissed from Peking suddenly and contumeliously because the ambassador would not perform the ceremony of *San kwei chiû k'au* ("the repeated prostrations"), and thereby acknowledge his own sovereign to be but a vassal of the Empire.

Importation of opium.

Embassies from Great Britain.

So things went on till the charter of the East India Company expired in 1834, and the head of its factory was superseded by a representative of the sovereign of Great Britain,

who could not conduct his intercourse with the hong merchants as the others had done. The two nations were brought defiantly face to face. On the one side was a resistless force, determined to prosecute its enterprise for the enlargement of its trade, and the conduct of it as with an equal nation; on the other side was the old Empire seeming to be unconscious of its weakness, determined not to acknowledge the claim of equality, and confident of its power to suppress the import of opium. The Government of China made its grand and final effort in 1839, and in the spring of that year the famous Lin Tseh-hsü was appointed to the governor-generalship of the Kwang provinces, and to bring the barbarians to reason. Out of his measures came our first war, which was declared by Great Britain against China in 1840. There could be no doubt as to the result in so unequal a contest; and we hurry to its close at Nanking, the old capital of the Empire, where a treaty of peace was signed on the 29th of August, 1842, on board Her Majesty's ship *Cornwallis*. The principal articles were that the island of Hong Kong should be ceded to Great Britain; that the ports of Canton, Amoy and Fû-Châu (in Fû-chien), Ning-po (in Chehchiang), and Shang-hâi (in Chiang-sû) should be opened to British trade and residence; and that thereafter official correspondence should be conducted on terms of equal-

Conflicting national interests.

Great Britain's first war with China

ity according to the standing of the parties. Nothing was said in the treaty on the subject of opium, the smuggling traffic in which went on as before.

Treaty of 1842.

Before fifteen years had passed away, because of troubles at Canton, not all creditable to Great Britain, and the obstinacy of the governor-general Yeh Ming-chin in refusing to meet Sir John Bowring, it was thought necessary by the British Government that war should be commenced against China again. In this undertaking France joined as our ally. Canton was taken on the 29th of December, 1857, when Yeh was captured and sent a prisoner to Calcutta. Canton being now in the possession of the allies, arrangements were made for its government by a joint commission; and in February, 1858, the allied plenipotentiaries, accompanied by the commissioners of the United States and Russia as non-combatants, proceeded to the north to lay their demands before the Emperor at Peking. There was not so much fighting as there had been in 1842, and on June 26 a second treaty was concluded at Tien-tsin, renewing and confirming the former, but with many important additional stipulations, the most important of which were that the sovereigns of Great Britain and China might, if they saw fit, appoint ambassadors, ministers, or other diplomatic agents to their respective courts; and that the British representative should not be required

Great Britain's second war.

to perform any ceremony derogatory to him as representing the sovereign of an independent nation on an equality with China. Other stipulations provided for the protection of Christian missionaries and their converts; for liberty of British subjects to travel, for their pleasure or for purposes of trade, under passports, into all parts of the interior of the country; for the opening of five additional ports for commerce—Niû-chwang (in Shing-king, the chief province of Manchuria), Tang-chau (with port of Chee-foo, in Shan-tung), Tâi-wan (Formosa, several ports), Châo-châu (with port of Swa-tau, in Kwang-tung), and Chiung (Kiung-châu, in Hâi-nan)—and for authority for merchant-ships to trade on the Yang-tsze River, ports on which would be opened when rebellion should have been put down and peace and order restored. (The river was not opened to steamer traffic till 1888.) Treaties on the same lines were concluded also with the United States, France and Russia. A revision of the tariff regulations of 1842 was to take place subsequently in the year at Shang-hâi. This was done in October, and then opium was entered among the legitimate articles of import, and the arrangement confirmed that the government should employ a foreign official in the collection of all maritime duties. It might seem that these treaties secured everything which foreign nations could require, and that the

Five more ports open

Treaties with other nations.

humiliation of the Chinese Government was complete. But they were nearly wrecked by one concluding stipulation in all of them but that of the United States, that the ratifications of them should be exchanged *at Peking* within a year. The Emperor and his advisers, when the pressure of the force at Tien-tsin was removed, could not bear the thought of the embassies entering the sacred capital, and foolishly cast about to escape from the condition. The forts at Ta-kû, guarding the entrance to the Pei-ho, and the approach to Tien-tsin and thence to Peking, were rebuilt and strongly fortified. When the English, French, and American ministers returned to Shang-hai with the ratified treaties in 1859, the Chinese commissioners who had signed them at Tien-tsin were waiting for them, and urged that the ratifications should be exchanged there. The French and English ministers then insisted on proceeding to Peking as the place nominated for the exchanges. But when they arrived at the mouth of the river, with the gunboats under their command, they were unable to force the defences. A severe engagement ensued, and the allied forces sustained a repulse with heavy loss. It was the one victory gained by the Chinese. The British and French Governments took immediate action. A third expedition, under the same plenipotentiaries as before, with a force of nearly 20,000 men, was at the same

An unfortunate stipulation.

The Chinese refuse entrance to Peking.

Repulse of the allies.

place in little more than a year. The forts were taken on August 21, and on the 25th the plenipotentiaries were again established in Tien-tsin. We can only refer to their march in September on Peking with all its exciting details. The Emperor (Hsien-fung) fled to Jeh-ho, in the north of Chih-lî, the imperial summer retreat; and his brother, Prince Kung, whose name is well known, came to the front in the management of affairs. On the 13th of October he surrendered the north-east gate of the city; on the 24th the treaties were exchanged, and an additional convention signed, by which, of course, an additional indemnity was exacted from the Chinese, and an arrangement made about the emigration of coolies, which had become a crying scandal, while a small piece of the continent of the Empire, lying opposite to Hong Kong, was ceded to that colony. So it was that the attempt of China to keep itself aloof from the rest of the world came to an end, and a new era in the history of the Empire was initiated.

Flight of the Emperor

[In 1840, Louis Napoleon again tries to raise an insurrection at Boulogne. He is captured and condemned to life imprisonment, but escapes in 1846. Napoleon's remains are brought from St. Helena and buried at the Invalides. An English, Austrian, and Turkish fleet bombards Beyrout and Acre. Mehemet receives Egypt as a hereditary pos-

session, but pays tribute to the Sultan. The penny post is introduced in England. In 1841, New Zealand becomes a separate colony. A massacre takes place at Cabul. The great Powers take steps to suppress the slave trade. In 1842, the English retreat from Cabul and the entire army is destroyed in the Khyber pass. The treaty of Nankin ends the Opium War. Five ports are opened to English trade and Hong Kong is ceded. The Sultan annexes Tripoli and Barca. In 1844, the Republic of San Domingo is founded. In 1845, there is much distress in Ireland by the failure of the potato crop. Texas is admitted to the Union as a slave State. The first Maori war breaks out in New Zealand. Christian converts are massacred in Madagascar, and the French and English send an unsuccessful expedition to their aid. Troubles between the Sikhs and the British begin.]

Khyber pass.

Texas admitted to the Union.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTHWEST PASSAGE

(A.D. 1845—1847)

ALBERT HASTINGS MARKHAM

THE return of the Antarctic expedition in 1843 once more aroused public interest in matters connected with exploration in high latitudes, and this interest was kept alive by the writings and efforts of English men of science and naval officers, who urged the necessity of the continuance of further exploration. In the words of worthy old Master Purchas, who wrote 250 years ago, the discovery of the northwest passage was the only "thing yet undone whereby a notable mind might be made famous."

Revival of interest in Arctic exploration.

This long-sought-for passage was at last to be discovered, and the "notable mind" that was to achieve the distinction which the solution of the problem would, according to Master Purchas, entitle him to was no less a person than Sir John Franklin, who had already succeeded in mapping out, by actual personal exploration, a very large portion of the passage. He had, by great ability, energy, and

indomitable pluck, in spite of unparalleled difficulties and unprecedented sufferings, in a vigorous climate and in an inhospitable and barren country, succeeded in showing to the world at large, that there was no service which Englishmen were not capable of undertaking, and no hardships or privations that would make them waver or flinch in the performance of their duties and in carrying them out to a successful issue.

Sir John Franklin.

In fact, Sir John Franklin had written his name with no light or feeble hand in large and unmistakable characters along the entire face of our North Polar map, and he was, even at that time, the actual discoverer of all but a very small portion that yet remained to be explored of the long-talked-of, but yet undiscovered, northwest passage.

The ships and their crews.

The ships selected for the service were the *Erebus* and *Terror*. They had only recently returned from the service on which they had been engaged under Sir James Ross in the Antarctic, but they had been completely overhauled and thoroughly repaired after the hard buffetings they had received from the southern ice, and were, in consequence, prepared in every way that human skill and ingenuity could devise to undergo similar or even worse treatment from the ice floes of the north. Captain Crozier, who was second in command in the Antarctic expedition, was selected to act in a like capacity to Sir John, and

was appointed to the command of his old ship the *Terror,* while Sir John flew his pennant in the *Erebus*. Commander James Fitzjames, an able, popular, and accomplished officer, was appointed to the *Erebus* as second in command under Franklin. As the principal object of the expedition was the advancement of science, the remainder of the officers were selected as being specially suited by their scientific acquirements, professional knowledge, and robust and vigorous constitutions, for the service on which they were to be employed. Among those appointed was Dr. Goodsir, an eminent naturalist. The complement of each ship was sixty-seven officers and men, making a total of twenty-three officers and one hundred and eleven men—in all, one hundred and thirty-four souls. Stores and provisions were put on board the ships for an anticipated absence of three years. The vessels were also fitted with screws and auxiliary engines, capable of working up to about twenty horse-power. This was the first time that the screw, as a means of propulsion in ships, was ever used in the Arctic Seas, but it was, as may be imagined from the power provided, only to a very limited degree.

Object of the expedition.

Sir John Franklin's orders were to the effect that he was to make the best of his way up Lancaster Sound to the neighborhood of Cape Walker, in about 74° N. latitude, and 98 W. longitude. Thence he was to use his ut-

Franklin's orders.

most endeavors, by working to the southward and westward, to push on in as direct a line as possible toward Bering's Strait; but much was left to his own discretion, and he was to be guided by any circumstances that might incidentally arise. All the arrangements being completed, the expedition sailed from England on the 19th of May, 1845, officers and men in the very best of spirits, and all fully resolved to do their utmost to bring the voyage to a successful issue, and so set at rest, and forever, the long-vexed question of the existence of a northwest passage.

On the 10th of July, they parted company with the transport, and sailed from the Whale Fish Islands; on the 26th of July, the two ships were seen made fast to the ice in Melville Bay, in about 74° 48′ N. latitude, and 66° 13′ W. longitude, by Captain Dannet, of the *Prince of Wales,* a whaler from Hull, who received a visit from some of the officers of the expedition; this was, so far as is known, the last time the unfortunate vessels were seen, at any rate by Europeans. After this date, although traces of the missing ships were discovered many years after, all is conjecture, all must be left to the imagination, to complete one of the saddest stories that has ever been told in connection with Arctic enterprise.

Last sight of the ships by Europeans.

The ships, we know, pursued their solitary way through Baffin's Bay toward Lancaster Sound. Entering this broad channel, they

sailed along the coast of North Devon, continuing their course to the westward; but ice, that unconquerable foe with which the Arctic explorer has to battle, effectually barred the passage, and prevented further advance in that direction. Wellington Channel, however, to the northward, appeared to be open, and up this they sail, hoping that it may eventually lead in a westerly direction, and carry them into the eagerly sought for passage. But they are doomed to disappointment, for after sailing up this channel for a distance of about 150 miles, they are again stopped by their relentless and implacable enemy, the ice, and are compelled to turn to the southward; but their return is made by a different channel to that up which they sailed, a newly discovered one, which they found to exist, separating Cornwallis and Bathurst Islands, and which ultimately brought them again into Barrow Strait, about one hundred miles to the westward of the entrance to Wellington Channel, up which they had previously sailed.

Course of the ships.

Unmistakable signs of the closing in of the navigable season were now apparent; the hills and valleys were already covered with their snowy mantle, and the young ice was beginning to form on the surface of the water to such a thickness as to materially impede the progress of the ships. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, and finding that there was no prospect of advancing

Closing of the navigable season.

further to the westward that season, the ships retraced their steps a short distance to the eastward, and were ultimately secured in snug winter quarters in a partially protected harbor on the northeast side of Beechey Island, the adaptability of which as winter quarters had, in all probability, been remarked and noted by Franklin as he passed up Wellington Channel.

In winter quarters.

On the release of the ships from their winter quarters, which event, in all probability, did not occur until July or August, a course was shaped to the westward toward Cape Walker, the furthest point reached by them in a westerly direction the previous year. We know well from the records of previous navigators, and also from subsequent experience, that the ice to the westward of Barrow Strait, and in the neighborhood of Cape Walker, is of an exceedingly formidable description. In spite, however, of the ponderous nature of the ice, Franklin persevered in his endeavors to get through, and seeing a channel open to the southward, he pushes into it, for surely, he thinks, it will eventually lead in the right direction. He knew if this channel did not end in a *cul de sac,* and if the ice permitted him to force his ships through, that the last link in the chain would be forged, and the northwest passage would be triumphantly achieved. This channel, separating North Somerset from Prince of Wales Land, is now called Peel's Strait.

Cape Walker.

All went merrily! Everything pointed to a speedy and successful termination to their voyage. Sailing past the west coast of North Somerset, they fight their way bravely mile by mile, and almost inch by inch, along the coast of Boothia Felix, until they perhaps get a glimpse of King William Land, and almost feel that success is actually within their grasp. But alas! although the distance that intervenes between their ships and absolute success is, perchance, only a little over one hundred miles, their further progress is suddenly arrested, their vessels are caught and held fast in the rigid embrace of the ice, and thus, fast frozen in a solid and impenetrable pack, they are doomed to pass their second winter. Little did the poor fellows then imagine, when they were busily engaged in making the necessary arrangements for passing that winter, that their ships were inextricably frozen in—never again to cleave the blue water of the ocean, never to rise and fall on its heaving billows, never to be released from their icy fetters, until their poor battered hulls are rent and riven by their victorious enemy, the ice.

Again ice-bound.

To winter in the pack is known, happily, only to a few—to pass two successive winters in the ice is an experience that has, fortunately, been vouchsafed to fewer still; yet the brave survivors of the *Erebus* and *Terror* were destined not only to pass one, but two long,

Winter in the ice-pack.

weary, successive winters, helplessly beset, and firmly frozen up in their icy bondage.

As the daylight returned King William Land, covered in its white garb of winter, was occasionally seen to the southward. Once past that sterile and dreary-looking coast, and the northwest passage would be accomplished; for they would then, they well knew, connect with Simpson's, Ross's, and Back's discoveries; but alas! an ice-encumbered sea intervened, choked with thick-ribbed ice, through which it was impossible to force their heavy, and perhaps seriously damaged, ships.

The summer was not allowed to pass, however, without some attempt at exploration, for, in the month of May, a travelling party was organized and despatched with the object of exploring King William Land. It consisted of two officers and six men, and was commanded by Lieutenant Graham Gore, the first lieutenant of the *Erebus*. The officer that accompanied him was Mr. Charles F. Des Vœux, mate, belonging to the same ship.

A party explores King William Land.

The party left the ships on Monday, 24th of May, and succeeded in reaching Point Victory on King William Land; thence pushing on toward Cape Herschel they, perhaps, saw in the distance the continent of North America, and realized that the long-sought-for passage had been discovered, and could be easily accomplished if they were but able to force their ships through the short,

Graham Gore discovers the northwest passage.

icy channel that intervened. Depositing a record, containing a brief account of their visit, they hurried back to their ships to impart the joyful tidings to their comrades in order that they also might share in the exultation that they could not help but feeling at having ascertained the successful result of the voyage. The record was simply a few lines written on a printed form supplied to the ships for the purpose of being corked up in a bottle and thrown overboard, with the object of ascertaining the set of tides and currents.

Gore's record.

The lines written by Graham Gore on this printed form were to the effect that the *Erebus* and *Terror* wintered in the ice in latitude 70° 5′ N., and longitude 98° 23′ W., having wintered, in 1846-47, at Beechey Island in latitude 74° 43′ 28″ N., longitude 91° 39′ 15″ W., after having ascended Wellington Channel to latitude 77°, and returned by the west side of Cornwallis Island. It adds, somewhat significantly, that Sir John Franklin was still in command of the expedition, but that all were well. This paper is dated the 28th of May, 1847, and is signed by both Gore and Des Vœux.

On their return to the *Erebus,* they found a scene of sorrow and mourning which, perhaps judging from the somewhat ominous wording of their record, was not wholly unexpected. They found their beloved chief,

he who had before, so often and in so many shapes, been face to face with death, stricken down, fighting his last battle with that unconquerable foe to whom the bravest must eventually strike their colors and yield. Sir John Franklin, after a long, honorable, and distinguished career, after a life more eventful and adventurous than usually falls to the lot of man, lay on his death-bed. The end, however, had not yet come, and Sir John Franklin was permitted, before he passed away, to receive from the lips of Graham Gore the announcement that the northwest passage, for the successful achievement of which he sailed from England two years ago, and for which he was now willingly and cheerfully laying down his life, had been discovered, and that he was the man who, by its discovery, had, according to old Purchas, made himself famous.

Death of Sir John Franklin.

[In 1846, the Spanish marriages cause considerable friction between England and France. Austria annexes the Republic of Cracow. War arises between the United States and Mexico over the Texan boundary question. In 1847, Rothschild, the first Jewish M.P., is elected for the city of London. In Switzerland war breaks out; the Sonderbund is routed and dissolved, and the Jesuits are expelled. Gold is discovered in California. In 1848, Chartism is effectually

Mexican War.

checked in England. Mexico relinquishes Texas, New Mexico, California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. The second Sikh War breaks out and the Punjab is annexed. Revolutions break out in almost every European country.] Punjab annexed.

THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CALIFORNIA

(A.D. 1847—1849)

JAMES SCHOULER

LUMBERING, tillage of the soil, and ownership of the spacious harbor of San Francisco had been the main objects proposed by the annexation of California to the United States. But another advantage, which threw all these into the shade, was revealed at almost the moment of its formal transfer. It was a land of treasure-trove. Gold, mineral wealth of inestimable worth, lay ready to tempt cupidity, in rock, in crevices, in river beds, the moment these possessions became ours. A century earlier, so runs the story, Jesuits found gold in this region and were expelled in consequence. Minister Thompson's book gave gold and silver a passing mention, while describing the resources of California. Mines nearer the heart of Mexico, which had been lately pledged for the security of British loans, once yielded a handsome return, but forty years of civil disorder left them unproductive. Indeed, since 1810, products of the precious ore in both

Objects of the annexation of California.

hemispheres had fallen off greatly, though the yield in the New World far excelled that of the Old. Hitherto, however, bowels of gold and silver had belonged to the sicklier races; we, like our hardy English progenitors, had boasted rather of our coal and iron, products for common use. The gold region of the United States, as hitherto defined, lay along the mountains which bordered Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia; and science, capital, and skill, while slavery infected that region, had all been wanting to develop or so much as locate these resources. But now this republic was on the verge of a discovery which would impart a new influence in the civilized world, and give new values and a new impulse to finance and the industrial activities. Had not God guided us? Was not the Union working out some sublime mission of manifest destiny?

Discovery of gold.

Here within one hundred and sixty thousand square miles of our Mexican conquest, within that country alone, west of the Sierras, which was drained by the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, was more gold probably than would pay the cost of our late war a hundred times over. Such was the confident report of our military commandant in California, dated six weeks after peace had been officially proclaimed at Washington; and our President, submitting that report to Congress in its ensuing session with his farewell message,

found a new justification of the policy he had pursued toward Mexico.

That splendid and startling discovery was made in fact before the actual conclusion of a treaty with Mexico, and California's dwellers were wild with excitement at the time when distant representatives of the late belligerents ratified the compact of transfer wholly ignorant of the news. Nor did the earth first open her secret to the peering eyes of the American conquerors who occupied the country, but to Captain Sutter, the Swiss lord of the Sacramento, and an American mechanic from New Jersey in his employ, named Marshall. Some miles above Sutter's fort, on the American fork of the Sacramento, a saw-mill was in course of erection for turning some pine forests near by into lumber. Marshall, with a gang of workmen, comprising native Indians and a few white Mormons, was engaged upon the work. While widening and deepening the channel, where water was let on to run the mill, yellow particles were brought down by night, mingled with the loose mud and gravel, which Marshall discovered as he sauntered along the tail-race the next morning. Suspecting the truth, which was confirmed by another night's sluicing, he gathered some of the glittering grains in his pouch, and rode down the stream to Captain Sutter, dismounting at the fort on the afternoon of the 28th. Sutter weighed the ore, applied

Sutter and Marshall.

such tests of science as he could command, ransacked his little library upon the subject, and pronounced the substance gold. From that moment the news of the discovery spread, and men's minds were turned in his little kingdom from saw-mills, flour-mills, herds, flocks, and all that humbler property which hitherto had absorbed his thoughts and theirs, and to quote Sutter's own expressive phrase,—for he could not ride luck firmly at a break-neck speed,—the curse of the discovery was on him.

The rush for gold.

Neither Sutter nor Marshall could profit by nature's confidence. They agreed to keep the secret to themselves; and a Mexican grant being of course out of the question by that time, Sutter procured a lease of this region from the Indian natives, and then undertook the more difficult affair of procuring title from the United States. Colonel Mason, the American commandant at Monterey, could give no document; and so far from guarding their joint secret, Sutter and his unwary contractor managed to send the news far and wide, which their humble workmen on the stream had wit enough to ascertain very quickly. Sutter's saw-mill stood unfinished, as hundreds and thousands of laborers pushed by for more congenial work. Within four months of the first discovery over four thousand persons were about the Sacramento, working as if for dear life, dwelling in coarse canvas tents and huts, and coaxing fortune with the rudest imple-

Sutter and Marshall fail to keep their secret.

Crude mining methods.

ments. Some with bowls, pans, and willow baskets were seen washing out the gravel and separating the shining atoms by the hand; others worked with the pick and shovel; while some, the luckiest of the lot, found places where they could pick gold out of crevices in the mountain rocks with their butcher knives, as they lay upon their backs, in pieces which weighed from one to six ounces.

Fleets of launches, from the sloop to the cockleshell, left San Francisco in early May for the Sacramento saw-mill region, and the town was nearly stripped of its male population in course of the summer. Soon the whole country, from San Francisco to Los Angeles, and from the seashore to the base of the mountains, echoed the cry of "Gold, gold, gold!" The house was left half-built, the field half-planted; women looked after the shop. Foreign vessels began to arrive; but before they could unload, their crews deserted for the "diggings." Mexicans, scarcely less than Americans, caught the gold fever, and joined in the headlong rush for riches. And quickly as sails or steam could bear the tidings to different points of the compass, adventurers hastened from China, from the Sandwich Islands, from Australia, and from the whole Pacific coast between Vancouver Island and Valparaiso.

The gold fever.

It was not until Lieutenant Loeser reached Washington in person, bearing Colonel Ma-

son's official despatch, that denizens of our Atlantic Slope began to realize the force of our new discovery. A small tea-caddy, which Loeser brought with him, full of the yellow stuff in lumps and dust, was placed on exhibition in the War Department. To see was to believe, and to believe was to set the news flying eagerly. Mason's report, indorsed by the President, was published and commented upon by the press of two continents.

The new year witnessed the exodus of our modern Argonauts. A stream of population, swollen beyond all precedent, drained the drifting elements from Europe, to mingle in a current whose American element predominated. Never again was such delirium known, for it is novelty that makes the blood leap wildly. Those lesser discoveries of gold and silver which followed years later in British Australia and through our own Rocky range were tame by comparison. These seekers of the golden fleece are enshrined among the world's heroes. "Ho for California!" was the rallying cry of the press in our Atlantic cities, —their columns teeming with advertisements of gold-sifters, tents, picks, preserved meats, compasses, mining boots, and all other needful supplies; with rifles and pistols to use against one enemy, medicine and medical books against another. "California associations" were hunting up men to charter vessels in company or furnish a line of wagons.

The Argonauts of 1849.

"Ho for California"

The two routes.

Two modes were open to choice for making the difficult journey: one by the overland route, requiring delay until spring; the other by water, which, though tedious to the last degree, pleased the impatient who wished to get in motion. The long water route lay round Cape Horn; but the short cut across the isthmus looked more attractive on the map. Sailing-vessels for one course or the other had begun departing from Atlantic ports; the number increasing rapidly with each new month, until old hulks were rigged up and sent to sea as long as they could float, and even the whalers forsook their usual prey to engage in this "new catch." The Pacific Mail Steamship Company had been organized already for general trade with our distant possessions. Its first steamer sailed from New York in the previous October, with not a single passenger on board for California; but after doubling the Horn, turning northward, and reaching Panama in the following January, its captain found fifteen hundred persons frenzied and clamorous to come on board as passengers, of whom scarcely one-thirtieth part could be provided with state-rooms. Steam and sailing vessels dumped at the isthmus, for many months, on the Caribbean side, their parties of adventurers, who worked across to Panama as best they might, to join in the mad rush from the latter port. As the frantic struggle was here renewed whenever a steamer came

The demand for shipping.

Frantic struggle for passage.

in sight, the company disposed of all tickets by lot, and allowed none without them to come on board. Among the disappointed hundreds who were left behind, many embarked upon the slow sailing-vessels which improvised a transit, rather than stay idle on shore, or rashly perilled their lives on long canoes of the natives. Meanwhile, the swift steamship, for its three weeks' trip to San Francisco, was crowded fore and aft; exercise was clogged; sleep grew fitful and feverish; men rushed and wallowed for their food, each table being twice set; while for successive days amid this turmoil of monotony the vessel would plow its way through a tranquil sea, as the sun rose and sank pillowed in a gorgeous sky. Welcome at last was the haven of San Francisco, as it came into view when the vessel curved the bay of the Golden Gate.

The overland route.

But the journey overland,—how much more terrible were its hardships than those even of the long, seven-months' voyage by sailing vessel round the Horn! Tedium is the chief torture of those who trust their lives to a carrier. By ocean travelled those indirect gainers by discovery,—the speculator, the gambler, and all that buzzard and miscellaneous horde who come to bring capital into play or pander to brute passions; many to be useful, many to make others worse. But the Argonauts of the plains were the sturdier set,—the miners or the farmers; and, having little to pay for

passage-tickets, these contributed their capital of physical endurance. They made of Fremont's reports their guide-book. They travelled by companies together, both for defence and economy's sake. Wagons, animals, provisions, they purchased by co-operation; and even the penniless had a chance, as drivers or otherwise, to work out a free passage. The perils of those crusaders who took the savage hills of the Gila, or crossed the Great American Desert to Sonora, need not be dwelt upon. These had their terrible tales to relate. But for the northern route of 1849, that great overland highway, Independence, or St. Joseph, Missouri, was the chosen rendezvous; and on this frontier of civilization thousands assembled from the eastward in early spring, with wagon trains, waiting until the grass was high enough before venturing upon the broad ocean of the wilderness. From May to early June company after company set forth, until the emigrant trail from Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri to Fort Laramie at the foot of the Rocky Mountains was one long caravan; and the light of camp-fires shone by night like some unending turnpike of illumination. Tribes of Indians fled, instead of attacking, as the strange line, which comprised pack-mules and every species of wagon, from the "prairie schooner" down to the jaunty pedler's cart, halted in the rich green meadows to enjoy the first and easiest

Wagon trains.

part of the journey. Cholera, which ascended the Mississippi about the time they departed, was their first real scourge; and four thousand or more perished by the roadside from this disease alone. Beyond Fort Laramie that pestilence was escaped, and then came the more immediate hardships of the expedition. Pasturage grew scarce, and the pioneers had to divide into separate trails; subsisting themselves often on nothing more appetizing than the tough meat of their mules or the flesh of noxious rattlesnakes. Up and down stern mountain-peaks, slowly through the South Pass, the toilsome march continued, until the tributaries of the Colorado served as guide. Rest, grateful as on the green spots among Arabian sands, was found in the Mormon settlement of the Salt Lake. Faithful to agriculture and their own vows of isolation, these religious enthusiasts found speedy gain from traffic with the Gentile journeyers. In this fertile valley some emigrants remained the coming winter, dreading to go on; but they who pressed on, strong-hearted, had their worst perils yet to encounter. Through sterile wastes and rugged mountain chasms in the Great Basin, by trails hard to find and still harder to explore, they goaded on their jaded beasts and dragged their own weary bodies; they wandered like sheep, they separated, they went astray. But in August the advance wagons of this first pioneer train began arriv-

The terrible hardships.

Gains of the Mormons.

The pioneers encamp on the western side of the Sierra Nevada.

ing, and by the close of December the last of these overland companies of 1849 had encamped on the western side of the Sierra Nevada; and the great interior wilderness relapsed into its long winter slumber.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848

W. A. TAYLOR

IN the year 1840, a treaty was made in London between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, settling the question of the possession of Syria by the Pacha of Egypt, without reference to the acquiescence of France in their decision. This led to violent expressions of feeling on the part of the French people, who believed their nation insulted; the ministry breathed the same spirit, and the King consented to the augmentation of the army to 639,000 men. The plan for the fortification of Paris, as it was called, which had been before rejected by the chambers, was resumed by Thiers among his other preparations for war, and this would seem to have been the only object aimed at by the King in apparently coinciding with the war feeling; for he refused to allow his minister to denounce the Treaty of July formally to the chambers, and ask for further warlike preparations. Thiers therefore gave up his portfolio, and a new ministry was appointed, of which the master spirit was Guizot. That

Increase of the army.

Fall of Thiers.

statesman continued the fortification of Paris, and coincided fully with the wish of Louis Philippe to preserve the peace of Europe. He remained at the head of the government from 1840 until the Revolution of 1848. By every means in his power he preserved France from European hostilities, brought about an exchange of visits between the sovereigns of England and France, and promoted on all occasions the intrigues of the King for the aggrandizement of the royal family, and its establishment by intermarriages in other courts of Europe. At the same time, his internal government was characterized by pride, tyranny, blindness, and a constant succession of encroachments upon the liberty of the people. During the whole term of his administration the work of fortifying Paris was continued, until the whole city was surrounded by a girdle of fortifications of impregnable strength, the guns of which were expected to serve equally well in repelling a foreign foe and in crushing any revolt in Paris. Secure in the pride of power, Louis Philippe boasted that he held France in his hand, and Guizot ruled on, well contented in the seeming success of his policy, and convinced of the truth of his own saying, that an unpopular government is the most successful.

Fortification of Paris.

On the opening of the French chambers in 1848, a paragraph of the address announced

the intention of the ministry to oppose the holding of a reform banquet in one of the arrondissements of Paris. The people had been accustomed to these gatherings, which had always been conducted in a quiet and orderly manner, and all Paris resolved to participate in the one thus opposed, as a demonstration of their determination in the matter. On the eve of the day on which it was to be held the government grew alarmed, and issued a proclamation that it would prevent it *vi et armis*. This was made known to a meeting of the deputies and electors who were to take part in the festival, and they repaired to the chamber to interrogate the ministry upon the subject, where, in an angry debate, they learned the resolution that had been taken. The opposition deputies, anxious to preserve peace, announced their determination to take no part in the celebration, and the government strengthened itself to enforce its decree. The number of the troops was increased to one hundred thousand men, and armed bodies were concentrated about the Chamber of Deputies. Great bodies of people were in motion early upon the day fixed for the banquet, February 22, blocking up the avenues to the chambers, and making offensive demonstrations before the house of the minister. The troops manifested great reluctance to make war upon them, and the day passed over with few occurrences of note, except the impeach-

Prohibition of a reform banquet.

Military preparations.

ment of the minister by Odillon Barrot in the chamber, on behalf of fifty-three opposition deputies.

Barricades.

During the night the troops demolished the barricades thrown up by the people during the day, and the morning of the 23d was spent in the erecting and destroying of these works. Shortly after noon a large detachment of the National Guard came to present a petition to the chamber in favor of reform, but they were met by the commander of the Tenth Legion, in the Place de la Concorde, who told them they would not be permitted to pass. As M. Guizot entered the Chamber of Deputies on this day, the Tenth Legion on guard there saluted him with cries of, *A bas Guizot! Vive Louis Philippe!*

At half-past three a conflict commenced between the people and the Municipal Guard; but almost everywhere the National Guard fraternized with the people. A lull was produced by the announcement of the resignation of the ministry, and the appointment of Count Molé to the presidency of the council; but the wanton discharge of musketry upon the people, by the guard assembled before M. Guizot's hotel, by which fifty-two persons were killed or wounded, again aroused the people, and everywhere the cry was heard to arms. The dead bodies were carried about Paris in a vehicle, preceded by an immense crowd, chanting in a mournful murmur the

Resignation of the ministry.

songs of death. Suddenly there arose a cry for vengeance, and the issue of the Revolution was decided. At every corner barricades were erected. Gentlemen, shopkeepers, clerks, workmen, all labored equally and effectively. The dawn of the 24th saw the whole city in possession of the people. The Château d'Eau, a massive stone building in front of the Palais Royal, was garrisoned by 180 Municipal Guards, who attacked the people about the palace, and a desperate conflict ensued, in which the populace suffered severely, but demolished the chateau, chiefly by means of fire.

The populace rises.

The victors then rushed to the Tuileries, which was surrounded with thousands of troops, who would not fire upon their brethren. Louis Philippe found that his sceptre had departed, and he attempted, by abdication, to transfer his crown to the Count of Paris, his grandson. The mother of the Count repaired with him to the Chamber of Deputies, where a voice from the public gallery settled the question at once:—"It is too late." The members of the royal family retired, followed by all the royalists in the chamber. Dupont de l'Eure, whose sturdy republicanism in 1830, was not forgotten, was carried to the chair, and a provisional government was proclaimed, amid loud shouts of *Vive la Republique!*

Louis Philippe abdicates.

Louis Philippe had been escorted by a de-

Louis Philippe flees to England.

tachment of guards to Neuilly, whence he made his escape in disguise to England. Apprehensions were entertained that his life would be sacrificed to popular fury; but the only cry that arose from the multitude was one of indifferent derision, "Let him go!"

The furniture of the Tuileries was thrown out of the windows and burned, the wines in the cellar distributed among the multitude, the throne carried in procession through the streets, and finally burned on the famous Place de la Bastille, and the royal carriages were burned at the Château d'Eau. All this passed directly beneath the notice of long lines of motionless infantry and cavalry. The respect paid to private property was not less remarkable than it was honorable. Several malefactors, caught by the people in stealing, were shot on the spot, and the word "voleur" (thief) fastened upon their bodies.

The Republic established.

The provisional government was installed at the Hotel de Ville, and at once proclaimed a republic. The Chamber of Peers was immediately abolished, and steps taken to relieve the people of the burden which the overthrow of existing relations was likely to place upon them. Lamartine, Arago, Ledru Rollin, Lamoricière, Garnier Pages, Cavaignac, Decoutrias, with the venerable president, Dupont de l'Eure, composed the provisional government. The first act of the government showed Lamartine to be the master spirit.

Every citizen was made an elector, and the qualifications for office were citizenship and the age of twenty-five years. The penalty of death for political offences was immediately abolished. An act for the emancipation of every slave on territory subject to France was ordered to be immediately prepared. On the 4th of March, the victims of the Revolution were solemnly interred, in the presence of nearly half a million of people, at the foot of the monument erected to liberty, and the memory of victims of the three days of July, 1830.

Interment of the victims.

The earliest occasion was selected by the American minister at Paris, Mr. Rush, for recognizing the Republic. On the 28th of February he waited upon the provisional government, and formally acknowledged the Republic, in an eloquent speech; hoping that the friendship of the two republics would be co-extensive with their duration. A deputation of American citizens waited upon the provisional government on the 8th of March, tendering them congratulations, and presenting them a flag-staff, with the colors of the two republics united and flowing together. The color was received by M. Arago, in a handsome address on the part of the government, and placed in the Hôtel de Ville.

The United States of America acknowledges the Republic.

The people throughout France are united in favor of a republican form of government, and the voice of the Church in favor of

The people and the Church unanimous for liberty.

the change was heard in every cathedral in France, almost before it was known that the King had quitted its territory. France with one voice has declared in favor of liberty, and not till she relapses into barbarism will tyranny find a foothold upon her soil.

END OF VOLUME SIX